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## BENJAMIN FLETCHER AND THE RISE OF PIRACY. 1692-1698.\*

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ON Sunday the 28th of August, 1692, the sentry on Fort William Henry perceived a signal at the Narrows flagstaff that a vessel was sighted "att Sandy Point," and the news spread rapidly through the city that the Wolf, with the long-expected Governor, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, on board, was in sight. This conjecture became reality when, next morning, the frigate stood up the bay, and towards evening dropped anchor under the fort, with a salute to the flag. During the night preparations for the reception of the Governor with ceremony befitting his rank and dignity were consummated. At eight o'clock next morning he disembarked and was received by a great company—the Council of the province, including the Chief Justice, the Mayor, Abraham De Peyster, and the Common Council of the city—courtly, dignified gentlemen in the

handsome and distinctive costume of the day, with the militia regiments in arms and a great concourse of citizens. These saluted the Governor with "acclamations and firing," and a procession being formed, the whole body marched to the fort, where the council-chamber was thrown open, and his commission publicly read; after which Colonel Fletcher, with due solemnity, administered their several oaths to the councilors. This done the procession again formed and marched to the City Hall, where the new Governor was publicly proclaimed and his commission read to the people, which was followed by "the like ceremony of acclamations and firing." The ceremonies concluded with a grand banquet in the evening which cost the city twenty pounds.

The Governor, thus publicly inaugurated, was a striking and im-

\*From "The Memorial History of New York."

portant figure in the annals of New York City, and everything relating to his history and personality is of interest. Unfortunately few data of this kind have been preserved. None of the historians who have touched upon his career have given the date or place of his birth. John R. Brodhead, collector of the "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," remarks that his arms point to Cheshire, England, as the place of his birth, but the county history of Cheshire is silent concerning him. The Assembly of New York, in 1699, adopted a petition to Lord Bellomont asking that the arms of Governor Fletcher might be removed from the king's chapel in the fort and from Trinity Church, "since his birth was so mean and obscure that he was not entitled to bear a coat of arms." Fletcher himself, writing to one of his refractory Assemblies, said that his education had been that of the camp. About all that is known of him prior to his being appointed Governor is that he was an Englishman by birth and a soldier by profession, who had done good service for William in the Low Countries and in the heady Irish war. Frederick De Peyster states "that, having been an active propagandist of Englishism and Protestantism in Ireland, he was rewarded with an estate in that country." He had been appointed Governor by William and Mary for two reasons: first as a distinct reward for services

performed, and second because it was thought that his energy and military talents would bring peace and order to the distracted colony. It was expected that he would advance his own fortunes out of the governorship—this had been the custom of all royal governors. No portrait nor authentic description of him is known to be extant. In character he was arrogant, avaricious, passionate, something of a zealot in religion, fond of social pleasures, not averse to exhibiting himself in the gilded trappings of his station, but brave, energetic, loyal, and well affected towards the colony.

Long and minute instructions were

*Given by the*

given for his guidance in the government, which, as forming the key to his administration, we will notice at length, since they have been largely ignored by many writers who have treated of this period. He was to proceed to his government with all convenient speed, call the members of the council together—who were named in the instrument—viz., Joseph Dudley (the Chief Justice), Frederick Flypson (Philipse), Stephen Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, William Smith, Gabrielle Mienville, Chidley Brooke, William Nicolls, Thomas Willett, William Pinhorne, Thomas Johnson, Peter Schuler (Schuyler), John Lawrence, Richard Townley,

and John Young, Esquires,<sup>1</sup> administer the oath to them, and cause, "with all due and usual solemnity," his commission to be published in the province. He was to communicate to these councilors so many of his instructions as he deemed necessary for the good of the service, and permit them to have and enjoy freedom of debate and vote; he was not to act with a quorum of less than five members except in case of necessity, when three would be deemed legal. In nominating members of the Council, judges and others, he was to exercise care that they were men of estate and ability, not necessitous people, or much in debt, and that they were well affected towards the government. He was not to suspend councilors without good and sufficient cause, and then must transmit to the home government copies of charges, proofs, and the replies of the accused thereunto. He was to transmit authentic copies of all the laws and statutes made in the province. He was not to be absent from his government on any pretense whatever without leave. He was to forward by the first opportunity a map with an exact description of the whole territory under his government; likewise a list of all officers employed under him, with all public charges, and an account of the present revenue. He was not to displace

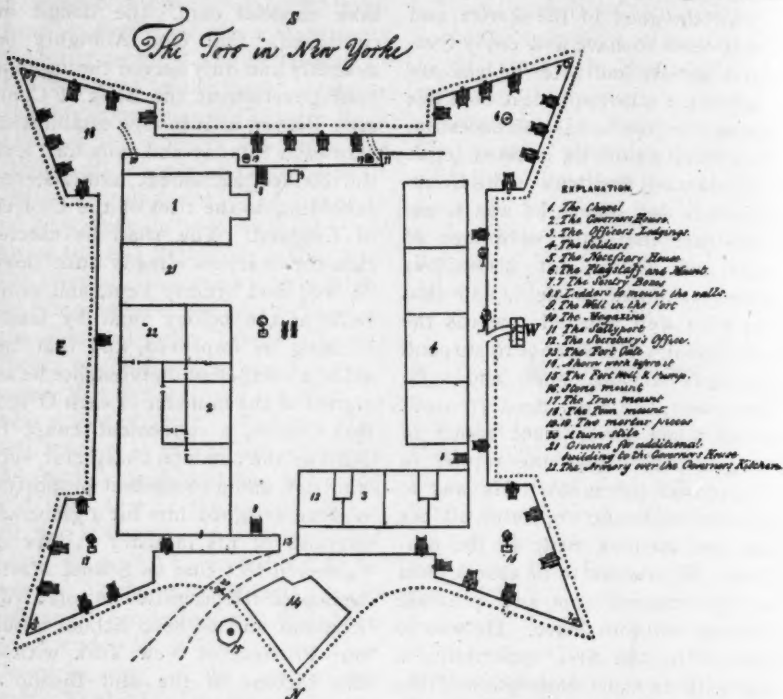
<sup>1</sup> Caleb Heathcote, who later became a prominent figure in New York history, was added a year later.

any judges, justices, sheriffs or ministers, without good and sufficient cause, which cause was to be reported to the king in full. He was to erect a Court of Exchequer for the trial of all cases affecting the revenue, if he deemed it necessary. "You shall take especial care," the document continued, "that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and holy day, and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that the churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and more built as the colony shall by God's blessing be improved, and that besides, a competent maintenance be assigned to the minister of each Orthodox church, a convenient house be built at the common charge for each minister, and a competent proportion of land assigned him for a glebe and exercise of his industry. . . . We do further direct that no School Master be henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep School within our Province of New York without the License of the said Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, be admitted to keep school without the license first had. You are to take care that Drunkenness and Debauchery, Swearing and Blasphemy be severely punished, and that none be admitted to Publique

Trust and employment whose ill fame and conversation may bring scandal thereupon."

He was also to exercise care that no man's life or estate should be put in jeopardy except by due course of law; to permit liberty of conscience

the Indians, and seek to attach them to the British crown, with the assistance of his Council; find out the best means "to facilitate and encourage the conversion of negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion," and provide for the raising and build-



to all except papists; make due entries of all goods and commodities imported; cultivate the friendship of

The above plan, also the one of the town on p. 637, as they appeared in the year 1695, are copied from the Rev. John Wooley's "Description of the Province and City of New York."

ing of "Publique Work Houses in convenient places for the employing of Poor and Indigent people." He was not to permit any alteration in the value of current coin, and was to exercise censorship over the printing-press. In addition he was to make full and frequent reports of his do-



ings and of the state of the province, to the Lords of Trade. His salary was fixed at six hundred pounds, exclusive of perquisites.

The new Governor, as soon as he was able to take a calm survey of the situation, found himself beset with difficulties. Three elements of discord—race, religion, and politics, or, more properly, faction—were present in his government. The English conquerors mostly hated and despised the Dutch. The latter, but twenty-eight years under the English yoke, looked with no kindly eyes on their conquerors. The body of the people was composed of Independents who regarded the Church of England with a dislike second only to that felt for Rome. Those who have read in the preceding number of the career and execution of Leisler and Milborne can imagine the feeling existing between the two factions at this moment.

Twelve days after disembarking, Fletcher wrote the Earl of Nottingham: "The two parties seem implacable, and those who suffered by the violence of Leisler are suing those who acted by his commission to their prejudice. . . . This inveteracy on both sides weakens us very much, and obstructs his Majesty's service." There were also foes without. King William was now waging war against France, and the brave Count Frontenac, who commanded in Canada, hung upon the northern frontiers of New York in constant menace, and

was using all his ability to seduce the Five Nations—the bulwark of the English power—to his master's interest. Special commissions gave Fletcher authority over the militia of Connecticut and Rhode Island and East and West Jerseys, and as full authority over Pennsylvania and Delaware as over New York. This was deemed by the colonies affected, a violation of their charter rights, and they would not submit to his authority; nor would they furnish troops and munitions for carrying on the war against Canada, as the king had commanded. The Governor made a long and tiresome journey into Pennsylvania and Connecticut, without achieving results. At the first meeting of the Council, finding that Joseph Dudley, the Chief Justice, had removed to Boston, and William Pinhorn, Recorder, to New Jersey, he suspended them, and appointed William Smith to the former and James Graham to the latter office, until their Majesties' pleasure should be known.

Of the city government, Abraham De Peyster (who has been presented to the reader) was Mayor; the members of the Common Council were William Beekman, Alexander Wilson, William Merritt, Thomas Clarke, John Merritt, Garrett Dow, Johannes Kip, Robert Darkins, Peter King, Brandt Schuyler, and Stephen De Lancey. The Assembly called by Governor Sloughter was still sitting, and he prorogued it after "it had provided for Albany next winter."

He then called a new Assembly "to relieve the revenue of debt." The public debt he found amounted to £3,000, and the finances were in a wretched state, partly from the mismanagement of his predecessors and also because New York had been forced to bear alone the expenses of the Indian war, the other colonies holding aloof. The people had been taxed until they were on the verge of revolt. This debt was the chief burden of Fletcher's administration.



THE VAN RENSSLAER ARMS.

His subsequent quarrels with the popular Assembly were due largely to its refusal to vote the money necessary for carrying on the government. To placate the Leislerians "he discharged all recognizances taken on the score of Leisler and superseded all proceedings," and also tried his personal powers of persuasion and blandishment, which were not inconsiderable, so that on January 7, 1693, he was able to write

Judge Dudley, "that all things appeared serene; no wave to ruffle, no cloud to obscure our peace; the face of love was not more smooth." Suddenly he heard from several sources of meetings, violent expressions, threats against certain councilors, demands of reparation for Leisler's death, and discovered at length by a letter that fell into his hands that it was Boston that was sowing the seeds of faction and fanning the smoldering embers of discontent in his government.

In local affairs one of the first things brought to the Governor's attention was the "Bolting and Baking Act." This curious privilege, savoring of the feudal ages, was a monopoly (granted New York in 1678) of bolting all the flour and baking all the bread that should be exported from the province. The neighboring towns desired to have the act repealed, but were strenuously opposed by the merchants of the city. At the initial banquet given to the Governor, his attention was called to it by Mayor De Peyster, and his good offices with the king invoked in favor of continuing the privilege. The Common Council also addressed him several times upon the subject. At length, in 1694, the Assembly by an act directed against "unlawful by-laws," abolished the privilege.

The Common Council in 1696 wrote an address praying to have the law restored, and in support of their petition cited some interesting statistics.

"When the bolting began in 1678," they said, "there were only 343 houses. In 1696 there were 594. The revenue in 1678, 1679 and 1680 did not exceed £2,000; in the year 1687, £5,000. In 1687 there were 3 ships, 7 boats, 8 sloops; in 1694 there were 60 ships, 40 boats, and 62 sloops, since which is a decrease. In 1687, New York killed 400 beeves; in 1694 near 4,000. Lands had advanced tenfold in value. If this Act continue [that is, abolishing the monopoly of bolting], many families in New York must perish." Some other local incidents of interest occurred about this time, worthy of mention. Nassau street was opened. A night or "rattle" watch of four men was instituted. The streets were first lighted by suspending a lantern from every seventh house. Frederick Philipse built the first bridge over Spuyten Duyvil to his manor of Philipsborough; the Common Council authorized him (January 12th, 1693) to charge as toll 1d. for cattle, 2d. for each man and horse, 12d. for each score of sheep and hogs, 6d. for each cart and wagon, if he would build a good and convenient drawbridge. "Overseers of the poor" and "poor-houses" were instituted, and surveys of the streets were made, to see which needed paving.

On making an examination of his capital, Fletcher found its defenses in a wretched state, the fortifications decayed, the troops ragged and ill provided with arms and munitions,

and at once undertook to place them on a better footing. Late in September, he wrote that he was about making a secret visit to the frontiers to inquire into affairs there. He went again openly in February 1693, when an attack by Frontenac on his allies, the Mohawks, called him to their defense. The account of this expedition given by Colonels Bayard and Lodowick, who accompanied it, is so



quaint and picturesque that we present extracts. On February 12th, about midnight, an express arrived from Colonel Beeckman, of Ulster County, with news that five hundred and fifty French and Indians were on the 8th within twenty miles of Schenectady, "ready to fall upon the first two castles of our Mohogs," (Mohawks). Fletcher at once ordered the colonel of the city regiment to draw out his men next morning, and

sent orders to Colonel Cortlandt, of Kings County, and Colonel Willett, of Queens, to detach out of their regiments one hundred and fifty men and have them ready to embark at the ferry. "About 8 o'clock (next) morning, the City Regiment being under arms, his Excellency, on horseback at the head of the regiment, demanded who were willing to follow him to the frontiers against the enemy; they unanimously threw up their hats, crying, 'One and all.' Upon which Colonel Bayard was ordered to detach one hundred and fifty of the fittest men to be under the command of three captains with their subaltern officers, ready at first beat of drum, and dismiss the regiment."

"About 10 o'clock," the account continues, "his Excell. did send the Express forward to Lieut.-Col. Beeckman with orders to get all the horses in the County of Ulster together in readiness to carry his Excell. and the detachments to Albany from Kingston by land in case the river were not open, and to forward any confirmation of the news to his Excell. which he expected before he did intend to imbarq. 14, Tuesday—By break of day an Express from Major Ingoldesby confirming the former news and that the two first castles were taken by the French and Indians, whereupon eight sloops were ordered with necessary provisions and ammunition to goe around the fort, and be ready to saile, and the

detachment of the City Regiment did immediately imbarq about 4 o'clock afternoon: (and) the tide offering, his Excell., attended with the officers of the detachment and several volunteers, did imbarq and sett saile." All through Wednesday and Thursday the flotilla beat its way up the river, pausing only to salute the little stockade fort at Kingston, and reached Albany at last about nine o'clock Friday morning. At once Fletcher dispatched Major Schuyler with fifty men towards Schenectady, and himself followed about 11 A. M. with sixteen horse, leaving orders with Colonel Bayard to forward the several detachments as they should arrive. Fletcher and his advance-guard reached Schenectady late on Friday, and next day learned that the enemy had been attacked in his fortified camp, and routed by Major Peter Schuyler's brave little army of Christians and Mohawks.

The Governor and troops, therefore, returned to Albany, where the former received an address from the Corporation congratulating him on his safe return, and thanking him for his prompt assistance. On Saturday, the 25th, Fletcher held a grand council with the savages. Accompanied by the magistrates of the city and the soldiers and militia in arms, he went to the City Hall and made a speech to the Mohawks, which was translated to them by the "Interpretresse, Helle." And on Monday the 27th, after issuing a proclamation



prohibiting the selling of rum to the Indians, he "did imbarque for New-Yorke, where he arrived on Thursday following, and was received with such expressions of joy and thankfulness (as) the place could afford."

The boldness and celerity of his movements, joined to the phenomenon of the Hudson's being navigable in midwinter, greatly impressed the Indians, who ever afterwards spoke of the governor as Caijenquiragoe, or



*Frontenac*

<sup>1</sup> Copied from the statue erected on the front of New Parliament House of Quebec, in September, 1890. Other niches are to be occupied by Wolfe, Montcalm, and a score of other conspicuous characters connected with Canadian history.

"Lord of the Swift-arrow." Colonel Ingoldesby was left in command at Albany, with Major Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, and a member of the famous Schuyler family, as second in command. Governor Fletcher

made a second visit to the frontiers in June of the following summer, and held a grand council with the Five Nations and River Indians there, beginning on June 23d, and continuing until the 6th of July, during which he effected important treaties, and by his tact and politic speeches succeeded in attaching them more firmly to the British Crown. One instance of his art in this respect may be narrated in the words of the chronicler:

ALBANY, the 4th of July, 1693.

This evening, after the young Indians had ended their sport of killing the two fatt bulls which were presented by his Excell. with bow & arrow & roasting & eating them, His Excellency invited severall of the Chief Sachims & Captains of the most note and bravery on board their Majesties ketch Albrought rideing before the city of Albany & treated them to their extraordinary satisfaction. Upon their desire his Excell. gave them account of the success the King of England has had against the French King beyond the great lake—of the great victory which the English fleet obtained against the French the last summer, with the Particulars of that defeat, also of a great fight that had been on land where our great King attacked the Enemy in their Camp because they would not come out to fight him, where many men were slain on both sides . . . His Excellency also bade them be mindfull of what he said to them & true to the covenant they have renewed which they all promised to observe & keep inviolable, where upon as a seale thereunto his Excell. ordered the firing of five guns which they answered with the like number of shouts.

On his return to New York from this expedition the Common Council issued an address of congratulation and ordered that a cup of gold to

the value of one hundred pounds be "presented, unto his Excellency on behalf of the city, as a token of their gratitude."

Perhaps the most important events during Governor Fletcher's reign were the founding of Trinity Church and the erection of a printing-press.

When the new Assembly which he had called convened, he directed their attention, as the king had commanded, to the establishment of the state church. A more unwelcome subject could not have been presented. Probably two-thirds of the members were either indifferent or opposed to such a scheme, and the English Independents certainly were not well affected towards the Church of England. Nothing was done, but the next Assembly, which met in September, 1693, was better disposed, and passed a "Settling Act," which provided for the building of a church in the city of New York, two in Suffolk, two in Westchester, and one in Richmond counties, in each of which was to be inducted a Protestant minister with a salary ranging from one hundred to forty pounds, to be raised by a tax levied on the freeholders. Fletcher himself built a chapel in the fort, or repaired the old one. In this chapel the Rev. John Miller, chaplain of his Majesty's forces, held services until Trinity Church was completed, measures for erecting which under the active encouragement of Governor Fletcher were at once begun.

An account of the various phases

in the evolution of this historic structure will be of interest to our readers. The first of which we have knowledge is a petition from "sundry inhabitants of the city of New York, members of the Church of England," setting forth that whereas they were desirous of building "a church within this city for the use of the Protestants of the Church of England," and having met

land lying without the north gate of the said city betwixt the King's garden and the burying-place, and to hold the same in mortmain, and thereon to build the said church, as also to take and receive all voluntary contributions, and to do all other lawful acts and things for the effecting the same." Signed by Thomas Clarke, Robert Leveting, Jeremiah Tothill, Caleb Heathcote, James Evetts, William Morris, Ebenezer Wilson, Milliam Merritt, James Emott, R. Ashfield, 19 March, 1698, who are called "managers" of the Church of England. On the back of this paper Fletcher wrote the word "Granted."

Having received their "license," the managers began the work of building the church with vigor. All classes seem to have been interested in the work. Even the Jews contributed; for instance, "for building the steeple" Lewis Gomez gave £1 2s., Abraham Luilna, £1, Rodrigo Pachico, £1, Jacob Franks, £1, and Moses Michaels, 8s, 3d.

On May 6, 1697, the managers applied for a charter, citing the Act of 1693, for settling a minister "to officiate and have the care of souls" in the city, and stating that they had built and covered a church in which such minister might officiate, but that they still needed his Excellency's countenance and pious favor, and asking that he would "be pleased to grant the said church to the petitioners in trust for all those that now are or hereafter may be in the (Communion of the

A  
**JOURNAL**  
OF THE  
**Late Actions**  
OF THE  
**French at Canada.**

WITH  
The Manner of their being Repul'd, by His Excellency, *Benjamin Fletcher*, Their Majesties Governor of New-York.

*Imperially Related by Coll. Nicholas Bayard, and Lieutenant Coll. Charles Lodowick, who attended His Excellency, during the whole Expedition.*

To which is added,

An Account of the present State and Strength of Canada, given by Two Dutch Men, who have been a long Time Prisoners there, and now made their Escape.

- II. The Examination of a French Prisoner.
- III. His Excellency *Benjamin Fletcher's* Speech to the Indians.
- IV. An Address from the Corporation of *Albany*, to His Excellency, Returnng Thanks for His Excellency's early Assistance for their Relief.

Printed, Sept. 11th. 1693. *Edmund Cooke.*

London, Printed for Richard Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1693.

with great encouragement from several good Protestants, they asked "license" to purchase "a small piece of

It is believed that Bayard's Journal was the first book printed in New York by William Bradford, who was invited to this city from Philadelphia, in 1693 by Colonel Fletcher. The work does not exist in its American original. The London reprint, of which a fac-simile of the title-page appears above, is exceedingly rare.

Church of) England as now established by law, and that your Excellency would be pleased to order the same (to be one body) politick in deed, fact, and name by the name of the members in Communion of the Church of England established by law; and that as such they and their successors may have, hold, use, occupy (and possess all the) advantages, privileges, immunities, mortuaries, and appurtenances as are usually held (used, occupied, and possessed by) churches of the Church of England within their Majesties' realm. And also that your Excellency (will grant the said) church the aforesaid yearly maintenance by the aforesaid law established (and for the benefit and) for the charitable and pious use of the same what quantity of lands thereunto (near or adjoining that to your Excellency and) the Council shall be thought fit."

It appears by the Council minutes that the petition was read and the charter of incorporation ordered drawn, "the quit-rent to be one pepper-corn as desired." The land granted was the "King's Farm," so called, a lease only for seven years from August 19, 1697, the yearly rental being fifty bushels of wheat. When the lease expired in 1704, however, the farm was deeded the church in fee simple by Queen Anne, and became the nucleus of the Trinity Church property. This tract of land was originally the Dutch West India Company's farm, which, on the con-

quest by the English, was confiscated by them and called the King's Farm. It lay on the west side of Broadway between Fulton and a line between Chambers and Warren streets, and extended west to the North River. North of it lay the "Domine's Farm," or Bouwery, comprising about sixty-two acres, extending on Broadway from Warren to Duane streets, and then, leaving Broadway, extending northwesterly along the river; this farm was also subsequently granted to Trinity Parish by Queen Anne. The property has become famous in law.

One incident connected with the raising of funds for building Trinity Church portrays so vividly the life of the period that the story may be told in detail. In June, 1693, Governor Fletcher issued the following proclamation: "To all Officers and Ministers, Ecclesiastical and Civil, throughout the Provinces and Territories under my Government: Whereas, I am credibly informed that the son of Warner Wessels and Husband of Antie Christians, Inhabitants and Sailors of the City of New-York following their lawful Occupation, were taken into galleys, where they are now in miserable slavery, under the Power of the Infidell, and that their Relations are not able to advance a sufficient Ransom for their Redemption, I have therefore, upon their application to me, by and with the advice of the Council, out of Christian Charity and in Commiseration of the grievous Bondage



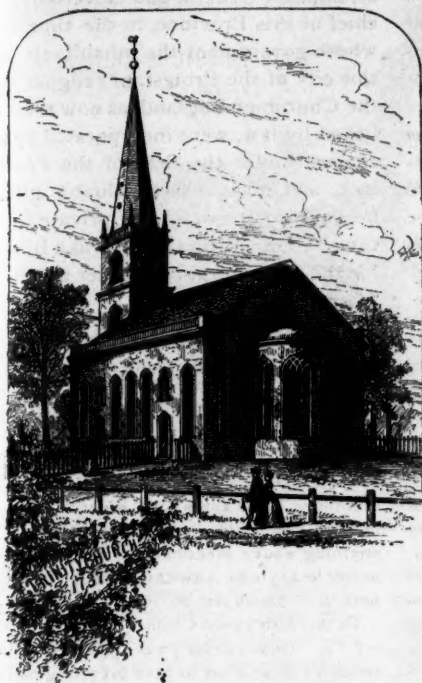


and Slavery of said Persons, granted & do by these presents grant license or liberty to the said Warner Wessels and Antie Christians to ask and receive the free and charitable Benevolence of all Christian People under my Government, as well at publick Meetings as private dwelling Houses, And to avoid irregularity in collecting the same all Ministers or Preachers where there are Parish Churches or publick or private Meeting Houses are required to publish a true Copy of this Grant by reading thereof openly, and affixing thereof afterwards upon the Door or other publick place, and admonish the people to Christian Charity, and at the next Meeting shall receive the free Offering & Benevolence of the people for the use above said. And where no Churches nor Meeting Houses are, the Constables are hereby required in their respective Precincts, having a true Copy of this Grant, to go about and Collect the Charity of good Christian people for the use above said. Of all which Benevolence and Charity the said Ministers or Preachers and Constables are to keep a distinct Account, which they are to transmit with what Money they shall collect by virtue of this Grant without delay to Stephen Courtland, Esq., Peter Jacobs Marius, John Kirbyll, and John Kipp, who are hereby empowered to receive the same, and transmit the said Money, or so much as shall be required for the Redemption of the said Captives from Slavery, by the best and most

convenient means and way. Provided always, that in case there shall be a surplusage above the value of their Redemption, or in case any of the said persons shall be dead, or otherwise redeemed, they, the said Stephen Courtland, Esq., Peter Jacobs Marius, John Kirbyll, and John Kipp, shall be accountable to me or to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief for the time being for the sum collected, or so much thereof as is left upon their or some of their Redemption, that it may be set apart for the like or other pious uses, and for no other use or intent whatsoever. Given under my hand and seal at Fort William Henry, the 8th day of June, 1693. Benjamin Fletcher."

By a postscript the same license was given to the friends of Bartholomew Rousston, John Crage, and William Green, "sailers taken in the same vessel and then prisoners with them." Nothing seems to have been done in the matter until the 2d of December, 1697, when the petition of the churchwardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church was read and considered in Council, and it was reported: "One of the captives having escaped is come home, the others are dead; only one named Barthol. Rousston is removed up into the country, who by the report of him who is escaped from Galley, cannot be redeemed. His Majesties Chappell is almost finished, and Trinity Church being a Publick structure erecting for the service of God by the Voluntary contributions

of some people, which is a publick and pious use, and much is wanted to finish it. It is resolved and agreed *nemine contradicente* that the money raised by virtue of the Lycense bearing date the 8th day of June, 1693, for the redemption of the said captives in Galley be applyed to the use of Trin-



The illustration in the text is that of the second or enlarged building, completed in 1737, and unhappily destroyed by the fire that devastated the city shortly after its occupation by the English in 1776. There exists no picture of the first building, opened for service in 1698.

ity Church to finish the building thereof, any former order of Councill Notwithstanding. Provided always, that if it be possible to purchase the redemption of the said Bartholomew, that the Corporation of said Trinity Church be accountable for the like sume, or so much thereof as will answer the redemption." The first trustees were ordered to deliver over the moneys to the then churchwardens, Mr. Thomas Wenham and Mr. Robert Lurting. The money, or a part of it, had been placed in the hands of May and Banker, bankers of Amsterdam, to be used in redeeming the captives. On March 20, 1700, these gentlemen wrote the Trinity corporation, saying that they had learned through their correspondents at Cadiz that Rushton (Rousston) and William Green were alive in Maquines, and had since used every effort for their redemption, and that lately they had received a letter saying that, by virtue of an agreement obtained by the English, the captives would receive their freedom in a few months, and that therefore they would have to use but little of the money in their hands and asking what disposition to make of it. On August 14, 1704, the committee to whom the petition of the churchwardens and vestrymen had been referred reported that they had examined the papers, etc., and were of the opinion that the prayer should be granted, from which

it may be inferred that it was conveyed into the treasury of the church.

The building was completed in 1698, and stood on the site of the present structure. It fronted towards the Hudson; in length it is said to have been one hundred and forty-eight feet, and in breadth seventy-two feet. Its steeple, the pride of the citizens, was one hundred and seventy-five feet high. Within, above the main entrance, was a sonorous Latin inscription, beginning *Per Augustam Hoc Trinitatis Templum Fundatum est anno regni illustrissimi*, the full inscription rendered into English being: "This Trinity Church was founded in the eighth year of the most illustrious sovereign Lord William the Third, by

<sup>1</sup> "To all Christian People to whome these Presents shall come Coll Benjamin Fletcher late Capt.Gen sendeth greeting. Know yee that the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher by the consent, allowance, and approbation of the Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of Trinity Church att his own private Charge did Erect and build a Pew att the East End thereof for the use of his family & for his Heirs and Assigns for Ever, and his Majesty having thought fit to Recall the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher from this Governmt the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher doth therefore hereby Assign and make over the said Pew in Trinity Church with all the Rights and Priviledges thereunto belonging unto the Honble Coll Nicolas Bayard and Coll Caleb Heathcote of his Maj<sup>y</sup> Council of the said Province and to such others that now are of his Majesties Council of the said Province as are not otherwise seated and Provided with Pews in the said Church & to such Persons of Quality & Gent. travelling to the said City as the said Coll Nicolas Bayard & Coll Caleb

the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord 1696, and was built by the voluntary contributions and gifts of some persons, and chiefly enriched and promoted by the Bounty of his Excellency Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of this Province, in the time of whose government the inhabitants of this city of the Protestant religion of the Church of England, as now established by law, were incorporated by a charter under the Seal of the Province, and many other valuable gifts he gave to it out of his private fortune." One of these gifts was a Bible for the reading-desk, another was the "Governor's Pew."<sup>1</sup>

Heathcote or the Church Wardens of the said church for the time being shall see meet. Provided allways, and it is the true intent and meaning here of, that in Case the Heirs of the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher or any of his friends or Relations doe att any time hereafter Arrive in this city of New-Yorke that they Claime and have a Right to sitt in the said Pew for the hearing Divine Service, anything above mentioned to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness, &c. Dated Ap. 26, 1698."

To this instrument Colonel Fletcher's seal—i. e., coat-of-arms—was attached. He seems by these arms to have been originally from Cheshire, Eng. His wife's arms are impaled with his, and resemble those of the Lincolnshire branch of the Monckton family.

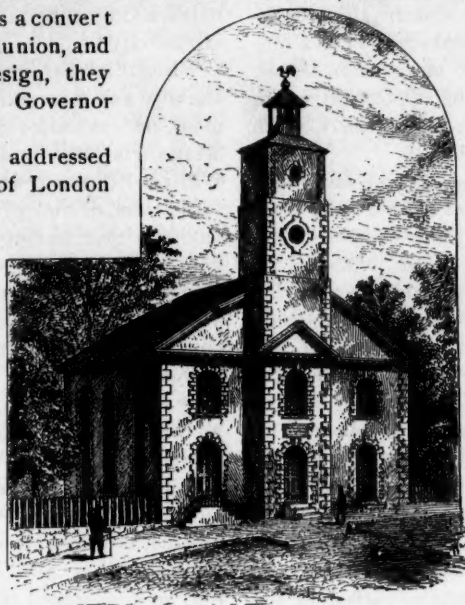
The visitor to St. James Church, Piccadilly London, of which Sir Christopher Wren was the architect, may see an ancient memorial stone on one of the pillars which support the south gallery, bearing the following interest-



When the church was ready for occupancy, the Reverend William Vesey was inducted rector. An appointment more distasteful to the Independents could not well have been made, for he was a convert from their communion, and made so of design, they charged, by Governor Fletcher.

In a petition addressed to the Bishop of London

by the friends of Governor Burnet in New York about 1714, it is charged that Mr. Vesey was a dissenting preacher on Long Island at the time, that he "had received his



DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN GARDEN STREET, 1693.

ing inscription: "Beneath this Pillar lies the body of Elizabeth, wife of Colonell Benjamin Fletcher, late Captain Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majesties Province of New-Yorke in America and Daughter to Doctor John Hodson, Lord Bishop of Elphin in Ireland, who after her Return from that long voyage in which she accompanied her Husband, Departed this life the Fifth day of November, Anno Domini 1698, leaving one Son and two Daughters behind her and a sweet and lasting Monument in the Memorie of all that knew her."

2

education in Harvard College under that rigid Independent Increase Mather, and had been sent by him to minister to the Puritans of New-Yorke," who might be proselyted by the Church. But "Colonel Fletcher saw through the design and 'took off' Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this living, a promise to advance his stipend considerably, and to recommend him to holy orders to your Lordship's predecessor, all which was performed ac-

cordingly, and Mr. Vesey returned from England in priest's orders." To be taxed for the support of a church which they disliked and distrusted was distasteful enough, but to see inducted into this comfortable living one whom they looked upon as a renegade was still more unpalatable, and intensified the opposition which the Governor's zeal for the Church had already created.

Another interesting and important church edifice was built during Governor Fletcher's term—the Dutch Reformed Church of St. Nicholas on Garden street. As early as 1691 the congregation had become dissatisfied with the stone church in the fort, and fixed upon a site in what is now Exchange Place, then occupied by the peach-orchard of the widow of Domine Drisius, a former pastor of the church. The work was pushed forward with such vigor that in 1693 it was dedicated and occupied by the congregation. It was at that time the most imposing church edifice in the city. The material used was brick; in form it was an oblong square, with a large steeple in front containing a belfry, and a room below in which the consistory held its meetings. It had long, narrow windows with small panes, in which were burned the arms of the principal supporters of the church, and there were also escutcheons of the leading families upon the walls. The silver-toned bell of the old church in the fort was transferred to the belfry of the new, to-

gether with the pulpit and other furniture. In 1694 the people brought their silver coin and ornaments as offerings, and these were sent to Amsterdam and hammered into a massive baptismal bowl by the skilled artisans of that city.<sup>1</sup>

While Fletcher went into Pennsylvania to assume control of its government, he was called upon to preside at the trial of a young man named William Bradford, who had been for some time official printer of the colony. In 1692, having issued a pamphlet by one George Keith, which charged the Quaker authorities with a departure from their pacific principles by aiding in the capture of a privateer, his press and materials were seized by them, and he, with McComb the publisher, was thrown into prison. At the trial—which, as before stated, was presided over by Governor Fletcher—he had been acquitted, but the authorities made it so unpleasant for him in Philadelphia that he determined to return to England.

The Governor, however, had other designs. On March 23, 1693, the Council passed a resolution which declared, "That if a Printer will come and settle in the city of New-York for

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<sup>1</sup> The bowl with its quaint inscription by Domine Selyns now forms part of the plate of the South (Dutch) Reformed Church, which worshiped for many years in the building on the corner of Fifth avenue and Twenty-first street, the legal and corporate successor of the Garden Street Church.

the printing of our Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New-York per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing, besides what serves the publick."

Bradford accepted the offer, which was really meant for him. Immediately on arriving in the city he was appointed Royal Printer, and it appears entered on his duties April 10, 1693. He met with such encouragement in New-York that he made it his permanent abode, printing not only the laws, but books of merit, and some years later founded the "New-York Gazette," the first paper issued in the city. He died in New-York, May 23, 1752, aged eighty-nine years, "being quite worn out with old age and labor," as the inscription on his tombstone in Trinity churchyard states, and after "being Printer to this government for upwards of fifty years." John William Wallace, of Philadelphia, for many years President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in a commemorative address on the two hundredth anniversary of Bradford's birth, in 1863, paid him this just tribute: He "first planted the printing press in these regions. He first maintained its rights against arbitrary power. He established in this chief city of our land an influence the greatest which the world has as yet known." This influence he exerted in behalf of liberty—"a liberty inseparable from religion, from order, from good morals, from good man-

ners, a liberty which education, self-respect, and dignity preceded, and in whose train moderation, amenity, d'corum, and all the graces followed." Governor Fletcher's services in introducing Bradford are fully recognized by Mr. Wallace, who observes, "whatever suggestions may hover about the name of Fletcher, . . . his services at this time deserve, no doubt, our eulogy."

During this term, also, the question of a suitable market-place was considered by the Council. Originally the "plain before the fort," now the Bowling Green, was used for this purpose; but an inconvenient location, not in the heart of the town, having been designated later, the landing-place of the hucksters' boats carrying the produce of the surrounding country had gradually come to be used as a market, putting at a disadvantage those who came into the city with wagons. Hence a petition was addressed to the Council to restore the Bowling Green to its ancient use; while from the following extract from the minute-book of the Council it is learned what was done for the useful institutions of weights and measures and the currency:

May itt Please your Excellency:

In obedience to your Excellencies Command, wee have Examined the Memoriale Exhibited to your Excellency by the Attorney Gen<sup>le</sup> Concerning the Settling of a Standard and Appointing an Officer for the Regulation of Weights & Scales for Curr<sup>t</sup> Gold & Silver, & are humbly of the Opinion that itt is very Necessary to be done, & Pursuant Thereto

Presume to recommend unto your Excellency Cornelius Vanderburgh & Jacob Boelen, Silver Smiths, as Persons of good Reputation and very fit to be appointed by your Excellency for the keeping of the Standard of Silver & Gold Weights and marking all such as shall be used in this City & Province; and that there be allowed, for the Marking of a Ballance — 18°, 17°, 16°, 15°, 14° weights, one Shilling—which is most humbly Submitted by etc., etc.

Robert Lurting, A. D. Peyster,  
John Barbreie, Gerard Domo.

An event soon occurred, however, which, skillfully used by his enemies,

### By His Excellency

*Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New York, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in America, and Vice Admiral of the same, His Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea and Land within His Majesties Colony of Connecticut, and of all the Ports and places of Strength within the same.*

### A PROCLAMATION

**W**HEREAS I have received the joyful News of the safe Arrival of Our Most Excellent Sovereign Lord WILLIAM the Third, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. in His Kingdom of ENGLAND in the Month of October last past, and of the Success of His Majesties Arms in Flanders, I have therefore thought fit, and by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesties Council, for the Province of NEW-YORK, do Appoint Thursday, the Sixteenth Instant, for the City and County of New York, and the Three Townships adjacent for the City and County of ALBANY, and the rest of the Counties of the said Province, To be Observed and Celebrated Publick Days of Thanks giving to Almighty God for the same. And all Persons within the Province are Required on the said Respective Days, to forgoe servile Labour, and so Observe and Celebrate the same with fervent Demonstrations of Joy and Thanksgiving.

*Dated at His Majesties Fort in New York the Sixth Day of January, in the Seventh Year of His Majesties Kings Annoq. Domini 1688. 6*

### God Save the KING

BEN. FLETCHER.

F. Phillips, T. Willst,  
N. Bayard, } Esqrs. J. Lawrence, } Esqrs.  
G. Munroell, } C. Heathcote.

### FAC-SIMILE OF THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

sufficed to depose him. Piracy had long flourished in the colonies, particularly in New York and Rhode Island. It was the logical outcome of the system of privateering which the maritime nations of that period had adopted as a legitimate arm of war. King William's war drew out

from the colonial ports scores of these swift-sailing combatants, armed with the king's commission to capture and destroy enemies' ships. Many of them, once at sea, were unable to resist the temptation to take and plunder indiscriminately, and thus became pirates of full import. This guild flourished at New York under Fletcher as never before, simply because the war gave it cloak and opportunity. Most of the principal merchants connived at it, and profited by it. The method of procedure was as follows: Putting to sea as a privateer, under the ægis of his commission, the pirate bore away for the Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea, and that part of the Indian Ocean bordering the southern shore of Asia. These seas were then traversed by the rich galleons of the British and Dutch East India companies, bearing precious fabrics, spices, gold, and gems from the opulent cities of the Orient. These argosies fell an easy prey to the corsairs, who, after capturing them, would send their booty to New York, and, in their character of privateers, enter it in the Admiralty Court there, as lawful spoil of war. This was one method. The more popular plan, however, was to carry the prize to a pirates' stronghold on Madagascar Island, where they usually found a merchant ship waiting, having been sent out by the merchants of New York with supplies such as the freebooters required, and which would then load



with the corsairs' booty, and return to New York as an honest merchantman, the pirates not appearing in the transaction.

Enormous fortunes were made and lost in the nefarious traffic. For instance, the ship *Nassau*, Captain Giles Shelly, left New York in July, 1696, for Madagascar, laden with Jamaica rum, Madeira wine and gunpowder, which the freebooters bought eagerly at several hundred per cent. advance. She took of them in exchange East India goods and gloves, and brought back also twenty-nine of the rovers as passengers, they paying four thousand pounds passage-money. The voyage is said to have netted the owners thirty thousand pounds. The pirates, who figured as reputable privateers, lent a picturesque and Oriental magnificence to the city unknown in later and more prosaic times. They were fond of swaggering about the streets armed cap-a-pie and clad in uniforms of blue, trimmed with cloth of gold and silver, their swords and daggers showing hilts set with gems, and the stocks of their pistols made of mother-of-pearl. Many of them were intelligent men, who had seen the world and could speak entertainingly of their adventures, and who were invited to the tables of the resident gentry, and even to that of Governor Fletcher himself. Of course, had they been what they professed to be, honest and lawful privateers, there would have been nothing improper in this.

However, in 1695, an event occurred which brought the matter of New York piracy prominently before the king and his ministers. New York pirates took in the Indian Ocean one of the sacred ships of the Great Mogul, laden with presents for Mecca. The Mogul learned that the corsairs were Englishmen, and threatened reprisals, which so alarmed the East India Company that they applied to the king for a frigate to protect their interests in those seas. None could be spared, being then engaged against France. Robert Livingston at this juncture proposed to Bellomont to fit out a private expedition against the pirates, the reward for the risk incurred to be the spoil of the pirates taken.<sup>1</sup> He recommended a certain shipmaster of New York, William Kidd, who he said knew both the pirates and their haunts, as a proper person to command the expedition. Kidd, he affirmed, "was a bold and honest man, and he believed fitter than any other to be employed in such service. Kidd, on being approached, promptly announced his terms. He required one of the king's ships, "a good sailer of about thirty guns and one hundred and fifty men," with which he would undertake to

<sup>1</sup> An account of these negotiations may be found in a rare pamphlet entitled, "Captain Kidd. A Full Account of the Proceedings thereto. In two letters written by a person of quality to a kinsman of the Earl of Bellomont in Ireland. Second Edition. London, 1701."

capture or disperse the pirates, as he knew many of them, "and had some knowledge of the places where they usually made their rendezvous."

The matter was debated by the king in consultation with five of the highest lords of the realm—Somers, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Bellomont, the Earl of Romney, and Lord Oxford—and it was agreed to furnish Kidd with ship and crew in return for a certain share of the booty he should take. The agreement was made by Bellomont acting for his colleagues, and was dated at London, February 20, 1695-6. By its terms the Earl agreed to provide a good and sufficient ship, to pay four-fifths of her cost, victualing, and equipment, to procure a commission from the king empowering Kidd to fight against the king's enemies and take prizes from them as a private man-of-war, and to conquer and subdue pirates, and to capture them and their goods. Kidd, on his part, was to enlist one hundred seamen, proceed at once against the pirates, use his utmost endeavor to conquer and subdue them and take from them their goods, and also to take what prizes he could from the king's enemies, and proceed with them immediately to Boston in New England. In case he captured no pirates or prizes, he and Livingston were to refund the money advanced, amounting to £6000. The prize-money was to be divided—one-fourth to the ship's crew, the other three-

fourths into five equal parts, four of which were to go to the earl, and the other fifth to be divided between Kidd and Livingston, who were also to pay one-fifth of the entire cost of the expedition. If, however, Kidd captured and turned over to Bellomont prizes to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, the ship should remain his as a reward for his services. Both Kidd and Livingston were held in bonds for the former's good behavior, Kidd's being placed at twenty thousand pounds, and Livingston's at ten thousand. It only remains to add that King William himself was a partner in this strange enterprise, and a prospective sharer in its spoils. A large ship, the *Adventure Galley*, was purchased, and in her Kidd sailed (February, 1696) ostensibly for the Red Sea in quest of pirates.

Meantime those opposed to Governor Fletcher were using the occasion to effect his recall. They charged that he consorted with pirates, that he gave them commissions knowing them to be such, that he sold them protections at exorbitant sums—the price of one being an eight-hundred-pound ship—and pocketed the money. The feeling entertained against Fletcher at this time by the opposition is shown in a letter written by Peter De la Noy, Mayor of New York under Leisler, who after a long list of grievances exclaimed: "We are not solicitous whether he is gently recalled, or falls

into disgrace, so we are rid of him!" The feeling was so intense that the king decided to displace Fletcher and appoint Bellomont; but in the letter to Fletcher announcing his recall, it was stated that this was not done because his Majesty was dissatisfied with him, but that the king would give him other employment. Bellomont's commission was dated June 18, 1697, but owing to delays in England and by storms on the voyage, he did not reach his government until 1698.

As soon as he heard of the charges, Fletcher wrote a letter to the Lords of Trade absolutely denying them, and making such explanations as to put them in a different light. He wrote that he was anxiously awaiting Bellomont's arrival, the Leislerians having become very bold and restive since the triumph of Leisler and the appointment of Bellomont, as they had imbibed the idea that there would be no more taxes after the Earl's arrival, and that all that he (Fletcher) had laid upon them would be refunded. Fletcher closed his letter containing the above statement with this paragraph: "My chiefest endeavor, as it always has been, is to assert my duty to his Majesty in studying the safety of the Province, and I bless God my efforts have not been ineffectual. It has improved more in building and trade these last five years than in many years before, which I shall be able to demonstrate to your Lordships when it shall

please God to bring me to my native country of England, and to justify myself as to my loyalty and honesty."

Bellomont came filled with the idea that his predecessor was a man of iniquity and corruption, which belief was encouraged by the Independents and Leislerians, whose cause he espoused. These asserted that Fletcher was not only in league with pirates, but had embezzled great sums of their public moneys, and urged that he should not be allowed to depart the province until his accounts could be investigated by competent authority—meaning the Assembly. To appease the people Bellomont appointed a commission for this purpose, but as an examination would prevent Colonel Fletcher from sailing in the frigate *Richmond* as he had designed, he, out of respect "to his Majesty's Commission, which he so lately bore," took bonds of him in £10,000 to answer to the king for all public money irregularly disposed of by him, and allowed him to depart. On arriving in England, Colonel Fletcher demanded an examination, which was accorded by the Lords of Trade. The Board convened at Whitehall, January 20, 1698, the majority of its members, the impartial reader will note, being friends of Lord Bellomont.

The Attorney-General and Robert Weaver, agent of New York, stood for the king; Sir Thomas Powis for ex-Governor Fletcher. There were eighteen "articles" or counts, in the

complaint, which were considered under separate heads. The principal charges were: That Fletcher had accepted from one Edward Coats the pirate ship *Jacob* in return for his protection, which ship he had sold for £800; that he had granted like protections to other notorious pirates

had granted commissions to Thomas Tew, John Hoare, and others as privateers for money, when it was notorious that they were pirates; that his intimacy with Tew, a well-known pirate, was scandalous; that the security for the good conduct of the privateers thus commissioned taken by Colonel



BRADFORD'S TOMBSTONE.<sup>1</sup>

for stated sums, generally about one hundred pounds per man; that he

<sup>1</sup> The original tombstone placed over the grave of Bradford, represented in the above illustration, was unfortunately broken, and was removed, at the time of the commemoration in this city in 1863, from Trinity Churchyard to the hall of the New York Historical Society. It was replaced by another similar stone which now marks his grave.

Fletcher was insufficient, and did not appear in the public records; that he had granted vast tracts of lands without accurate survey and for inconsiderable quit-rents; that he had exacted of the soldiers one half penny per day out of each man's subsistence, and had sent home full muster-rolls on which pay was drawn, when they were not half full.

Certain depositions, reports, etc.,



of persons in New York were read in support of these charges. Sir Thomas Powis at once objected to the admission of such papers unless the defense were permitted to send to New York for counter-evidence. "One of the deponents," he said, "admitted that he had been forced to swear by Bellomont; another that he had been tricked into it, and he inveighed against the Earle of Bellomonts undue method in forcing witnesses to swear." The Board, however, admitted the papers in evidence, and denied the defense opportunity to secure rebuttal evidence. Colonel Nicholas Bayard and Mr. Chidley Brooks, of Fletcher's Council, testified that Governor Fletcher had had the consent of the Council in all cases, and that without coercion. The ex-Governor's defense, as given in the court reports, was very lame and impotent, insomuch as to justify the suspicion that his side was not fully reported. In reality, he made a vigorous defense, as we discovered in two letters by him—one, without date, written from New York on first hearing of the charges; the second dated London, December 24, 1698, and which was laid before the Board. In the last he observed that his designation to New York was utterly unknown to him, and without his seeking; complained that he did not know his accusers, or in what manner he was to be attacked, as only the heads of articles were exhibited; and prayed that, for "the manifesta-

tion of the truth," he might have counter-witnesses summoned and examined. As to the ship *Jacob*, he said she had been commissioned by Leisler, and, after roving for some time, came into the Sound off Montauk, and, on hearing of the fate of Leisler, most of her men dispersed. Those who were of New York sent to know if they might come in safety to the city; whereupon he had called his Council, and it was unanimously their opinion that the men should be permitted to come in on giving security not to depart the province for a year and a day. The men came, and fulfilled these conditions. The reason that their bonds could not be found now among the public papers was that, the year and a day having expired, they had reclaimed them. He had accepted the *Jacob* as a present, and he frankly told their Lordships why he did so. "Those who victualled the forces had a great arrears due them, and were unwilling to trust any further, and a merchant of the place bidding £800 (of that money) for the ship, he had it accordingly. I touched no part of the money, but directed it to discharge and supply the victuallers, as was honestly done. Hereupon I writ to the Agent of the Province in England that when he could recover the value of this money (which might be of about £600 Sterling) he should remit it for me into Ireland, where my small patrimony of an adventure lay in ashes by the calamity of the late re-

bellion. And here, my Lords, let me presume to say that I had my share in the Irish Warr, and do appeal to all the Commanders in that army as to my behaviour in it, and whether in that, or near thirty years' service before, ever any complaint was brought before against me." He declared that he was never directly or indirectly concerned in unlawful or even lawful trade, and that he never gave protections or commissions for rewards. As to prosecuting pirates, he never had any complaints made to him against them on which such a prosecution could be conducted. Tew, he said, was a man of great sense and remembrance of what he had seen, so that it was a divertisement to hear him talk. He also wished to make him a sober man, and reclaim him from a vile habit of swearing, to which end he had given him a book, and Tew had given him a trifling present in return. As to the land grants, he reminded their lordships of the tenor of his instructions, and that they might find in their books how all the valuable lands of the province had been granted before he came, and that some governors had had large tracts of land.

His replies to other articles were equally convincing and forcible. In the first letter he has an interesting reference to Captain Kidd, who, instead of proceeding a pirate-hunting, as his instructions ordered, had borne away for New York. "One Captain Kidd lately arrived here, and pro-

duced a Commission under the Great Seal of England for suppressing of Piracy. When he was here many flockt to him from all parts, men of desperate fortunes and necessitous, in expectation of getting vast treasure. He sailed from hence with 150 men, as I am informed. . . It is generally believed here they will have money *per fas aut nefas*; that if he miss of the design intended for which he has Commission, 'twill not be in Kidd's power to govern such a hord of men under no pay," which surmise proved to be true. The outcome of the examination was unfavorable to Fletcher. The Lords of Trade reported to the king that his proceedings concerning the pirates "were contrary to his duty and an encouragement to Piracy;" and, on the land grants, that "his having made such large grants of land to single persons without due caution for improvement, was not for your Majesty's service, nor did it tend to the settlement of those parts;" and recommended that the charges be referred to the Attorney-General for further action.

Fletcher attributed the decision to the influence of Bellomont and Livingston. "I cannot be ignorant," he said, in the letter above quoted, "that there are two Scotchmen got into credit who are my mortal enemies, men that are able not only to trouble a Province, but to turn it upside down; and if these men can by successive complaints keep me under prosecution they have their ends."

And again: "When I consider the cloud I am under, and the bitterness with which I am pursued even to gall, and that all my actions are ransacked, 'tis truly a wonder that in so many years administration I should not have fallen into more absurdities and errors." And on August 5, 1698, at London, he wrote Mr. Blathwayt about being prosecuted by the Earl of Bellomont, and observing "the great credit his Lordship has with persons in the chiefe Stations and trusts here. . . I am confounded at the design and meaning of it; especially, looking back at the five and thirty yeares that I have borne Commission under the Crown of England, without

the least reproach or imprechment of my reputation, and after nine years service in the war of Ireland and America, to become a castaway in the rear of my days is no small mortification to me."

The king, however, seems to have interposed in favor of a faithful servant; at least we discover no evidence of further proceedings against him. From certain expressions in a letter of Bellomont's it appears that the Bishop of London espoused his cause. Of Benjamin Fletcher's subsequent career nothing is known, nor is there any record of either the time or place of his death.



## THE EXTRADITION AND RENDITION OF FUGITIVE CRIMINALS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

### PART III.

#### I. RECLAMATION FROM THE INDIANS.

The facility of escapes to the Indian tribes early rendered arrangements for the surrender of fugitives by the Indians imperative.

The Dutch, and indeed later some of the English colonies apparently regarded it the absolute duty of the Indians to surrender fugitive offenders upon demand.

Among the New York Colonial documents we find a quaint proposition printed in the extracts from the papers of Director Kieft of New Netherlands, under date of 1649.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting as showing the sentiments of our Dutch ancestors toward the friendly savages:

"Proposals of the Honorable Director and Council of the Commonalty.

"First is it not right and proper to punish the scandalous murder lately perpetrated by a savage on Claes Swits; and in case the Indians do not surrender the murderer to our demands, is it not right to destroy the whole village to which he belongs?

"Secondly in what name and at what time shall it be done?

"Thirdly by whom shall it be executed."?

The commonalty assembled by the Director's order to answer the three proposals, frankly recorded their views in the following language:

"To the first, we deem it in every respect expedient that the murderer should be punished as the Director proposes, but subject to God and opportunity, and meanwhile everything necessary ought to be provided and the Director ought, especially to get 200 coats of mail (*malj rocken*) from the North as well for the soldiers as for the freemen who will pay for their own share of them.

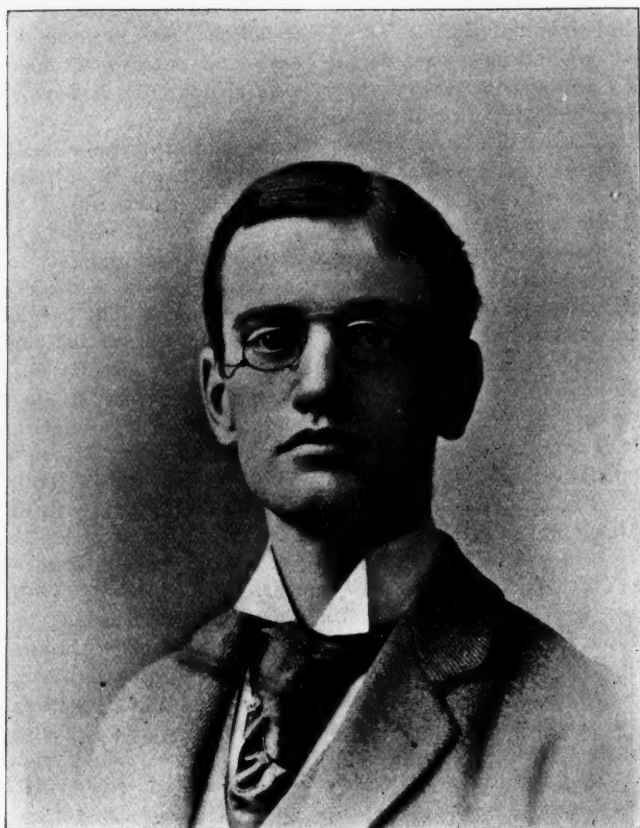
"On the 2nd And that a friendly traffic be carried on in the meantime . . . and until an opportunity and God's will be made manifest; . . .

"To the 3d The people say, as they know no other superior than The Director . . . the Director shall personally lead the expedition . . .

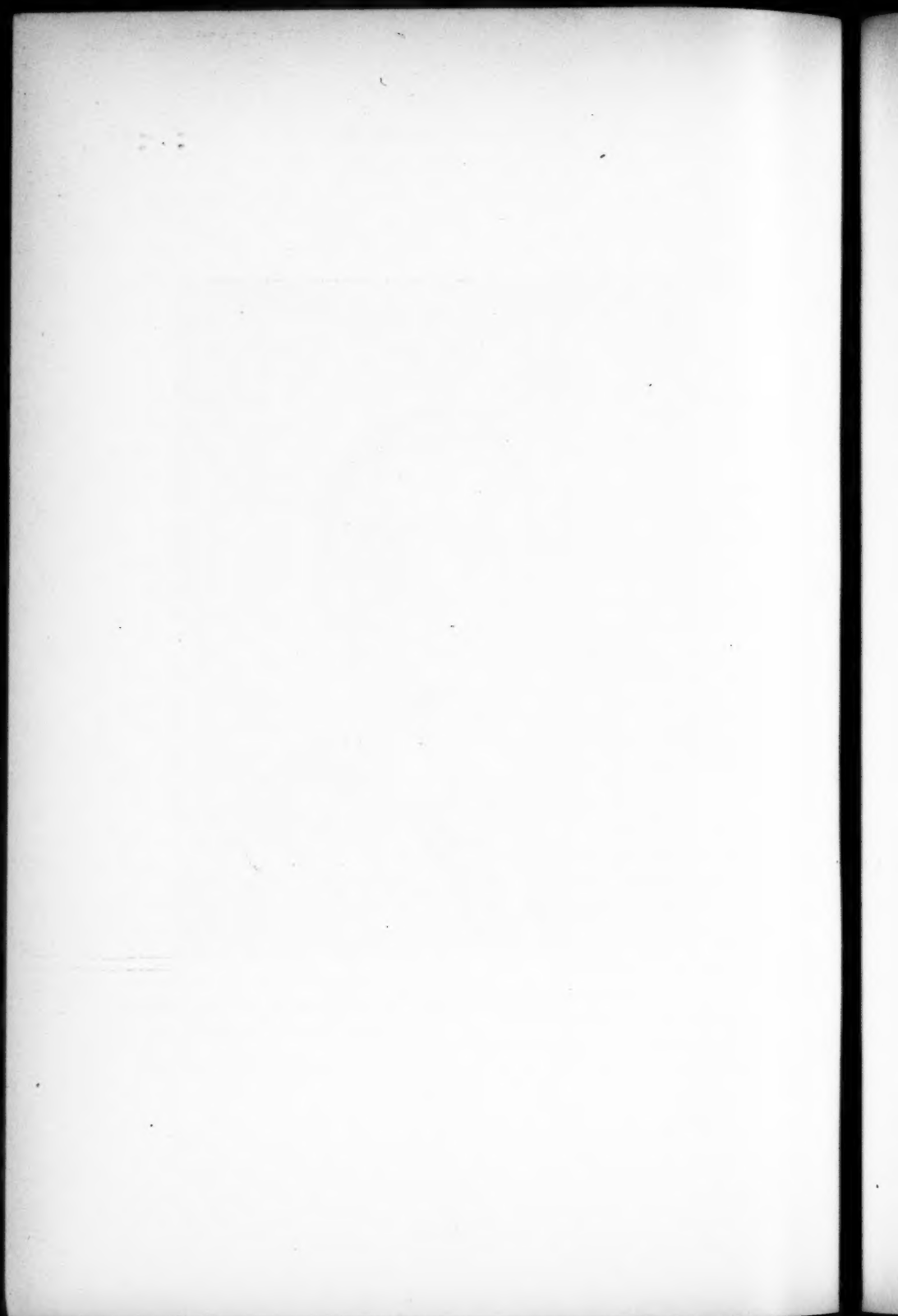
"Finally, for the purpose of lulling the suspicions of the Indians without using any threats, we consider it pru-

<sup>1</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. I., 414.





*John Edgar Hoover*



dent that the Director send a sloop again 1, 2 a 3 times, peaceably to demand the murderer, in order then to put him to death."<sup>1</sup>

A threat to discipline the Indian chief in the event of non-compliance accompanied the demand in a case which occurred in 1673 and is thus stated:

"The Commissioners of Connecticut made a relation of a murder lately committed by an Indian called Mo-wim, upon a Pequot Indian girl in the bounds of Stonington, within their jurisdiction, which murderer was apprehended and imprisoned in order to his trial; but breaking prison he fled to Ninicraft, who refuseth to deliver him up to justice amongst the English, pretending his own right to be the proper judge himself. Upon consideration thereof, and being requested to give our advice the commissioners think it most just and necessary that the authority of Connecticut do forthwith make further demand of the said murderer and bring him to his trial; and in case of neglect or refusal, to prosecute their demand to effect; and that Ninicraft (sic) be called to account and compelled to make reparation for the injury and affront hereby done to the English and their Government."<sup>2</sup>

In August 1682 the commissioners

appointed by Lord Baltimore, to treat with the five Iroquois Nations, proposed among other things, "the following article which was agreed to:"

"In case any Indian or Indians living amongst you shall for the future murder any Christian or Christians in Maryland or Virginia, wee do expect that you will cause him or them to be delivered up to the L<sup>d</sup> Proprietary to be dealt withall according to the Christian law, and in case any Indian or Indians shall kill any Horses, Cattle or Hoggs, or robb or steal anything from us that you cause satisfaction to bee made to us for the full value thereof."

By the second article of the "Preliminary Articles of Peace, Friendship and Alliance, between the English and the Seneca Indians, concluded April 3, 1764, the Senecas agreed "that they forthwith collect all the English prisoners, deserters, Frenchmen, and Negroes amongst them, and deliver them up to Sir Wm. Johnson (together with the two Indians of Kanastio, who murdered the Traders in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1762) previous to the Treaty of Peace, which will take place within three months if these articles are agreed to; and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any Deserters, Frenchmen or Negroes, from this time, but should any such take refuge amongst them, they are to be brought to the Command-

<sup>1</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. I., 415.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Meeting of Council of United Colonies, August 27, 1673; Col. Rec. of Conn., 1678, 488-489; Moore on Extradition, § 521. (Note.)

<sup>1</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc. 111, 321.

ing Officer of the next garrison, and delivered up, promising likewise never to obstruct any search made after such persons, or to hinder their being apprehended in any part of their country."

Article 7 contained the following stipulation: "That should any Indian commit Murder, or rob any of His Majesty's subjects, he shall be immediately delivered up to be tried, and punished according to the equitable Laws of England, and should any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he shall be immediately tried and punished if guilty."<sup>1</sup>

By the Articles of Peace between Sir William Johnson and the Huron Indians concluded at Niagara July 18th, 1764, it was agreed:

"That any English who may be Prisoners or Deserters, and any Negroes, Panis or other Slaves amongst the Hurons, who are British property shall be delivered up within one month to the Commandment of the Detroit and that the Hurons use all possible endeavors to get those who are in the hands of the neighboring nations; engaging never to entertain any deserters, fugitives or slaves; but should any such fly to them for protection they are to deliver them up to the next commanding officer."<sup>2</sup>

The treaty with the Delawares of May 8th, 1765, contained similar provisions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. VII, 621, 622.

<sup>2</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. VII, p. 651.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 738.

## II. A CONTRAST BETWEEN THE COLONIAL PRACTICE, AND THE PRESENT METHOD OF INTER-STATE RENDITION.

The deductions to be fairly drawn from these illustrations are. First, that the English Colonies recognized and performed the duty as component parts of the Kingdom of Great Britain of surrendering fugitive offenders for trial in the locality having jurisdiction of the offense; second, that as between the English and Dutch, and English and French, fugitives were reciprocally delivered up on demand without any requirement of proof of guilt; and third, that the colonists of all nationalities regarded it as the absolute duty of the Indians to surrender criminals seeking shelter among them, for trial and punishment under the laws of the colony in which the crime was committed.

At the present time, when a criminal, having violated the laws of one of the States of the Union is found within the territorial limits of another State, the authorities of the locality where the offence is committed are compelled in order to procure his return for trial and punishment, to institute a proceeding as circumlocutive and technically involved as any undertaking known to modern jurisprudence.

If the accused is likely to remain in his place of refuge for sufficient time to prepare the formal documents required under the constitution, the proceeding preliminary to the "Governor's requisition" can be dispensed



with. This rarely happens, however, in these days of alert and elusive law-breakers, and delay is nearly always fatal. Therefore, the first step in the case is the fugitive's arrest, usually based, by necessity, upon telegraphic information, communicated to the police of the place sought as the fugitive's shelter.

The accused is apprehended by an officer of the law who takes him before some magistrate, and charges him with being a fugitive from justice, referring to the telegraphic information as the authority for the allegation; and if the magistrate deems the case to be one requiring the exercise of comity toward the sister State, he commits the offender to jail, to await the arrival of a requisition from the Governor of that State. Usually criminals with means enough to carry them out of the jurisdiction, have enough left to secure the services of an attorney versed in the resources of inter-state rendition law; and in the great majority of cases the fugitive thus committed is brought into court without delay upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, and his astute attorney protests against his imprisonment upon the flimsy, illegal contents of a telegram, and the law is with him.

No matter if California is 3,000 miles away from New York, if the police of San Francisco telegraph to the police of New York that a murderer is in the latter city, on his way to England, giving an accurate de-

scription of him, sufficient to enable his identification and arrest, if the arrest is made upon the information thus communicated, the Supreme Court would be justified, and, indeed, required under the rules of law, to declare the arrest illegal and unwarranted.

It makes no difference that to permit the criminal's escape would defeat the ends of justice. In theory of law no man can safely be deprived of his liberty for one moment except upon legal proof. So if a murderer is to be arrested in New York, as a fugitive from California, there must first be at hand legal evidence to prove that he is the man charged with the crime in California, and has fled from the justice of that State.

To return, however, the authorities may and in fact often do, produce evidence sufficient to warrant the fugitive's preliminary commitment, and to withstand the scrutiny of the court on *habeas corpus*.

This being done by the police, the public prosecutor's labors are next called into play to prepare the necessary papers, which in every case should consist of a certified copy of an indictment or affidavit charging the commission of the crime by the fugitive, a certified copy of a warrant issued thereon, and of the return to the warrant, an affidavit alleging the flight of the accused and his whereabouts, and a formal application to the Governor requesting him to issue a requisition upon the Governor of

the State to which the fugitive has fled.

These papers are forwarded in duplicate to the Governor of the State having jurisdiction of the offence, one set remaining on file in his office, and the other accompanying the requisition.

The requisition is then issued, together with a warrant authorizing some person (usually proposed in the application) to act as agent in bringing the fugitive back to the demanding State.

Then the requisition is transmitted to the Governor of the surrendering State, who, if he honors it, issues a warrant of rendition, authorizing the agent to receive the fugitive and take him back to the demanding State.

Thus with all the facilities of modern enterprise and advancement, before the delivery of a fugitive criminal can be finally accomplished, three branches of the government of two States—the police, the prosecuting power and the executive—must each perform a separate duty, and considerable time must ensue, pending the completion of the undertaking.

This is the method of recovering fugitive criminals as between the States of the Union, made necessary by modern laws and under a narrow construction of the object and effect of the constitutional provision. And yet one of the main objects of modern legislation, we are told has been to simplify legal proceedings, and to

dispense with useless forms and impediments!

Two hundred and fifty years ago when a criminal fled from one of the English colonies to another he was pursued and taken back to the place where his crime was triable, upon the presentation of a warrant for his arrest endorsed by a magistrate of the place of refuge.

The colonies were as independent of each other's jurisdiction, so far as the administration of criminal laws was concerned, as are the various States of the Union at the present day; yet they did not regard the protection of the rights of fugitives from each other's justice of so great importance as to require the intervention of the chief executive before the fugitive could be delivered.

A comparison of the present complex system with the simple, though irregular, method in vogue in the colonies is not likely to commend the former.

While we have a uniform system, and a settled procedure, which in theory, insures the object contemplated by the federal constitution, the labor, expense, and delay incidental to a modern inter-state rendition proceeding, is wholly inappropriate and needless, and often defeats the accomplishment of the undertaking. The necessity of calling upon the executive authority of two States in every case, in order to secure the fugitive's surrender, deters prosecu-

ting officers from instituting rendition proceedings, except in cases of more than ordinary gravity, and immunity is thus virtually extended to petty offenders who succeed in withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the State where the offence was committed.

The strict construction of the Constitution, by the decisions of Federal and State Courts, under which to have "fled from justice" is declared to cover only the case of a person actually committing a crime in one State and withdrawing therefrom, so that there has been no opportunity to prosecute him, has taken away, from all power of reclamation and punishment, that great class of offenders, who, by criminal acts, commenced in one State and completed in another, render themselves amenable to the justice of the latter State though they themselves were never there.

These are but a few of the more prominent objections to the present system, but if no other existed they would afford sufficient reason for a change.

And if no better mode were suggested, the writer is of opinion that a return to the colonial method, with proper Federal and uniform State laws to secure its operation, would greatly improve the means and manner of recovering fugitive criminals as between the States.

Can any one say it is not absurd that in order to bring to trial and punishment in the city of New York,

a person accused of petty larceny there, and apprehended in Jersey City, less than two miles distant, it is necessary to carefully prepare the numerous documents above described, to make an application, based upon those papers, to the Governor of the State of New York, at Albany, nearly one hundred and fifty miles away from the place of the offence, to secure from him a requisition upon the Governor of the State of New Jersey, and to present the requisition at Trenton, about fifty miles away from the place of the accused's refuge, and to obtain from the Governor of New Jersey, his warrant authorizing the surrender!

Moreover, if the same person were overtaken at Buffalo, nearly five hundred miles away, no such proceeding would have to precede his delivery to an officer of the city of New York, because, while New York and Jersey City are in different States, Buffalo and New York city are both within the territorial limits of the same State.

The writer does not believe that this condition of affairs was ever intended by the able and far-seeing framers of the federal constitution, nor that that instrument and the Act of Congress now in force are responsible for it; on the contrary it would seem that the difficulty has arisen from the notion, that the federal constitution and the Act of Congress govern inter-state rendition proceedings, to the exclusion of every other method.

If this view is correct, the laws now in force, besides requiring a cumbersome proceeding in place of the simple system in vogue in the colonies, restrict the power of States to reclaim fugitives and qualify the duty of such surrenders, always recognized in the colonies. Yet it is not a very unusual thing for criminals to "waive requisition papers" and be taken from one State to another without even the ancient form of endorsing the warrant. Surely the Constitution did not intend to prevent this being done?<sup>1</sup>

The writer believes the true construction of the Constitution is that expressed by Chief Justice Brearly of New Jersey in 1789, of the object and force of the Articles of Confederation as follows:

"We have considered that part of the Articles of Confederation which respects the matter as merely designed *to prevent one State from giving protection to offenders from another; and*

<sup>1</sup> Note: Some of the States have indeed enacted statutes declaring it unlawful to take a fugitive criminal from their jurisdiction for trial elsewhere even though he consents to it, except by virtue of a warrant of rendition, and in those States a person now arrested is required to remain in custody pending the rendition proceedings, no matter if by waiving all objections to his surrender he could be taken at once to a place where he could procure bail, but one would hardly contend that the act thus proscribed was *malum in se*; and indeed it is hard to understand what real logical reason governed the enactment of such laws.

*that the powers therein given the executive are not necessary to be exercised in ordinary cases."*<sup>1</sup>

These articles required the delivery up and removal to the State having jurisdiction of the offense of "persons guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor," in any State, who had fled from justice and might be found in any State of the United States, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled.

"This provision," says Mr. Moore,<sup>2</sup> "appears to have introduced a new method of recovering fugitives from justice, and for this reason, and because it was not as comprehensive as the previous practice, it does not seem to have been regarded as exclusive."

The constitutional provision, as far as providing a means of reclaiming all fugitive criminals without regard to the character of the offense of which they were charged, was indeed "broad and unconditional,"<sup>3</sup> but has always been subject to criticism upon the grounds herein above referred to. It does not cover, and was not intended to cover, the case of a person who commits a crime in one State, though absent from the State at the time, and the cumbersome and costly procedure required under it,

<sup>1</sup> 13 Am. Law Rev. p. 190, 119; Moore on Extr. § 519.

<sup>2</sup> Moore on Extradition § 519.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



prevents its use except in extraordinary cases.

As has been well said<sup>1</sup> it makes obligatory upon every member of the confederacy the performance of an act which previously was of doubtful obligation.

This was the object and effect of the constitutional provision. It provided a means of enforcing, as between the States, the theretofore recognized duty to mutually surrender fugitives. It was intended to cover a case where the authorities of one State refused to perform that duty upon a proper request, so that the difficulties, which from time to time occurred in the colonies, by reason

of the shelter afforded to fugitives could not occur in the States.

That the same duty of surrendering fugitives at the present day is incumbent upon the several States, entirely independent of the Constitution, admits of no dispute, and in the opinion of the writer, fugitive criminals might now be lawfully recovered as between the States by virtue of this inherent right of reclamation and duty of surrender, without the aid of the constitutional provision; but, however this may be, there can be no question but that each of the States could enact measures authorizing such a practice, and thereby establish a uniform and simplified system, unhampered by the present laborious, tedious, and expensive forms and methods.

JOHN DOUGLAS LINDSAY.

<sup>1</sup> Matter of Fetter 3 Zab. 311: See also Dow's case, 18 Pa. St., 37; Matter of Voorhies, 32 N. J. L. (3 Vroom) 145.



## THE SIOUX MASSACRE OF 1862.

HISTORY records no more bloody or more disastrous Indian outbreak, than that of the Sioux massacre of 1862. However barbarous this tribe was regarded before that time, in this wholesale butchery it surpassed its entire record of revolting cruelty and unrestrained savagery. The Sioux nation had always been regarded by the government and the Indian agents as one of the most intractable and ferocious of all the Indian tribes. It was at this time that the government was making special efforts to civilize these Indians by giving them lands in severalty and encouraging them to cultivate the soil and learn the arts of peace.

The Medawakontons, Wapatoms, Sissetons and Wapakutas were the Indian tribes inhabiting the territory of Minnesota at the date of the massacre of 1862, and they were all embraced under the general term of "Annuity Sioux." In 1862 these tribes numbered about six thousand. All these Indians had from time to time—from the year 1816 to the date of the massacre—received presents from the government, by virtue of various treaties of amity and friend-

ship between us and their accredited chiefs and heads of tribes. From the treaty of St. Louis in 1816 to the treaty ratified by the United States Senate in 1859, these tribes had remained friendly to the whites, and had by treaty stipulations parted with all the lands to which they claimed title in Iowa, all on the east side of the Mississippi river, and all on the Minnesota river, except certain reservations. These Indian treaties inaugurated and contributed greatly to strengthen a custom of granting to the pretended owners of lands occupied for the purpose of hunting the wild game thereon, and living upon the natural products thereof, a consideration for the cession of their lands to the government of the United States. This custom culminated in a vast annuity fund, in the aggregate over three million dollars, owing to these tribes in Minnesota. These Indians became known as "Annuity Indians." This annuity system is dwelt on at length because the distribution of this fund was one of the causes that led to the bloody outbreak in 1862.

Furthermore it is to be noted that the treaty of 1858 made at Washing-

ton elaborated a scheme for the civilization for these "Annuity Indians." A civilization fund was provided, to be taken from their annuities, and expended in improvements on the lands of such of them as should abandon their tribal relations, and adopt the habits and modes of life of the white race. To all such, lands were to be assigned in severalty, eighty acres to each head of a family. On these farms the necessary farm buildings were to be erected, and farming implements and cattle were to be furnished them. Indian farmers now increased rapidly until the time of the outbreak, at which time there were about one hundred and sixty who had taken advantage of the munificent provisions of the treaty. The Indians who took advantage of this treaty were known as "farmer Indians," while the others were known as "blanket Indians." It is worth while to note that Little Crow, the projector, organizer and leader of this outbreak was a "farmer Indian," that he had adopted the white man's dress, that he lived in a snug brick house, and that he professed to have come under the peaceful sway of civilization.

When we come to consider the proximate causes of this disastrous outbreak, we find a number of considerations claiming our attention. As a rule the Indians disliked the idea of taking anything belonging to the general fund for the purpose of carrying out the scheme of civiliza-

tion. Those Indians who retained "the blanket" denounced the measure as a fraud upon their rights. The chase was to them a God-given right; this scheme forfeited that ancient privilege. It pointed to a time when the rude children of the plains would no longer be permitted to roam with unrestricted freedom over an almost boundless territory. Again by certain treaties between the government of the United States and the Indian tribes composing the Sioux nation, certain distinct and definite sums of money were to be paid these Indians in open council. Investigation shows that they were not consulted at all, but that arbitrary divisions and distributions were made of the entire fund, and their right denied to direct the manner in which they should be appropriated. Another cause of irritation among these Indians arose out of the Inkpaduta massacre at Spirit Lake in 1857. Inkpaduta was an outlaw of the Wapakuta band of Sioux Indians. The leader of this outbreak was allowed to escape without being brought to justice. The Indians construed this either as an evidence of weakness on the part of the government, or that the whites were afraid to pursue the matter further, lest it might terminate in still more disastrous results to the infant settlement bordering on the Indian Country. Little Crow and his adherents found capital in this to foment future difficulties in which the two races should become involved.

Let us glance for a moment at the more remote causes that led to this fearful collision. The white race some two hundred years ago, had entered upon the material conquest of the continent, armed with all the appliances for its complete subjugation. Here was met a race of savages, possessing many of the traits peculiar to a common humanity, and yet exhibiting almost all the vices of the most barbarous races. The white man was at once acknowledged, the Indian being judge, to be superior to the savage race with which he had come in contact. We here discover the first cause with a universal principle, in which the conflict of the two races had its origin. It was a conflict of knowledge with ignorance, of right with wrong. As a necessary result the inferior race must either recede before the superior or sink into a common mass. Again we come to the great law of right. The white race stood upon the undeveloped continent ready and willing to subdue it. On the one hand stood the white race armed with this law; on the other the savage resisting the execution of that law. The result could not be evaded by any human device. Right as founded and conditioned by the law of the survival of the fittest, wrought out by the ever operative laws of progress will continue to assert its dominion, with varying success, contingent on the use of means employed, until all opposition is

hushed in the perfect reign of the superior aggressive principle.

The first blow in this unparalleled massacre fell upon Acton, thirty-five miles northeast of the Lower Sioux Agency, in the county of Meeker, on Sunday the 17th day of August, 1862. Prior to this time, in June, 1862, a secret organization, known as the "Soldier's Lodge," was founded by the young men and soldiers of the Lower Sioux. The real object of this "Lodge" was to adopt measures to wipe out all the white people in the Minnesota Valley. It is certain that the manner of the execution of the fearful tragedy was a deep laid conspiracy, long cherished by Little Crow, taking form under the guise of the "Soldier's Lodge," and matured in secret Indian Councils. In all these secret movements Little Crow was the moving spirit. The murders at Acton were probably not known to Little Crow when he and his conspirators met in council on that day at Rice Creek, where it was decided that the fearful tragedy should commence on the next morning, the 18th day of August, 1862. The final decision of these fiends must have been made as early as sundown, for by early dawn almost the entire force of warriors of the Lower tribes, were ready for the work of slaughter. They were already armed and painted, and dispersed through the scattered settlements, over a region at least forty miles in extent, and were rapidly gathering in

the vicinity of the Lower Agency, until some two hundred and fifty were collected at that point, and surrounded the houses and stores of the traders. The action was concerted, and the time was fixed. The blow was unexpected and unparalleled. Early on the morning of the 18th, the settlers on the north side of the Minnesota river, adjoining the reservation, were surprised to see a large number of Indians in their immediate neighborhood. They were seen all along the river from Birch Coolie to Beaver Creek, and beyond on the west, apparently intent on gathering up the horses and cattle. When asked what they intended to do, they said they were after Chippewas. About seven o'clock they suddenly began to repair to the houses of the settlers, and then the flight of the inhabitants and the work of death began. No age or sex was spared. The slaughter was indiscriminate and thorough. Sucking babe and tottering age shared the same fate. Those who survived the tomahawk and fell into the hands of the savages were reserved for a still more terrible punishment than death itself, being outraged and tortured in every way savage barbarity and hellish ingenuity could devise.

In two days the whole work of murder was done, with here and there exceptional cases in different settlements. During these two days a population of thirty thousand, scattered over some eighteen counties, on

the western border of the state, were rushing wildly over the prairies, on foot, on horseback, or in whatever way possible, to places of safety, either to Fort Ridgely or to the yet remaining towns on the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. Flight from an invading army of civilized foes is awful, but flight from the uplifted tomahawk brandished by savages in pursuit of unarmed men and women and children is a scene beyond the descriptive power of the most vivid pen. The unarmed men among the settlements offered no defense, and could offer none, but fled before the barbarous savage, each in his own way, to such places as the dictates of self-preservation gave the slightest hope of safety. Children of tender years, hacked and beaten and bleeding, fled from their natural protectors, now dead or disabled, and by the aid of some trail of blood, or by the common instinct of our nature, fled away from scenes of slaughter, and cautiously crawling along by night made their way to Fort Ridgely or to some distant town on the Minnesota or Mississippi rivers. This human avalanche of thirty thousand beings consisted of all ages and in every possible condition, the rear ranks maimed and bleeding and faint from starvation and loss of blood, continually falling into the hands of the inhuman savages, keen and fierce, on the trail of the white man. This vast and indiscriminate multitude from the wide area of eighteen counties, were im-



mediately cast out upon the highways and praries, hiding now in sloughs and now in the grass of the open praries; some famishing for water and some dying for want of food; some bare-footed, some in torn garments, and some entirely denuded of clothing, some by reason of their wounds crawling on their hands and dragging their torn limbs after them. All these were making their way over a country in which no white man could offer succor or administer consolation. The varied emotions that struggled for utterance in that fragmentary mass of humanity cannot be even faintly set forth in words.

The main defense for the settlers was made at New Ulm in the Minnesota Valley on the 22d and 23d of August, but the Indians were finally defeated and driven off, although with great loss of life. Foiled in their attack on New Ulm, the Indians turned their attention toward Fort Ridgely, eighteen miles northwest. They made a determined assault upon this place led on by their renowned chief, Little Crow. Every attack was successfully repulsed and the assailants driven off with great loss. If these two points had not withstood the attacks made upon them, all the towns in the Minnesota valley would undoubtedly have been laid waste, but prompt and brave action on the part of the whites

gained for them the victory. A military commission on the 5th of November, 1862, tried and condemned for capital punishment three hundred and three of the savages and their allies who had taken part in the massacre. These had been apprehended by Gen. H. H. Sibley who had been commissioned by the government to prosecute the war against the Indians. Under his command, the whites, who had been captured by the Indians, and who had been spared their lives were released at a place that has since been known by the name of Camp Release.

As a sequel to this bloody outbreak, thirty-eight Indians who had taken part in it were hung on a single scaffold at Mankato, Minn., on the 26th of December, 1862. Little Crow who was the leader in the outbreak escaped apprehension, but was afterwards shot and killed near Hutchinson, Minn., on the 23d of July, 1863. Thus terminated the careers of the principal instigators of one of the most bloody Indian outbreaks in our entire history. When we view Indian character in the light of history, and in view of all that has been attempted to be done for the Indian race, we are almost forced to the conclusion that "no washing will make the gypsy white."

SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

"SOJOURNER TRUTH."

HER EARLY HISTORY IN SLAVERY.

No history of the American Union, and especially the agitation for the abolition of human slavery therein, can ever be quite complete without some record of this unique and remarkable product of human serfdom, known in the later years of her life as "Sojourner Truth," or "Old Auntie Truth," as she was fond of being called. Wholly without education and removed from the advantages of social life; living under the heel of prejudice and oppression engendered and fostered by the law of the land, this poor colored woman became an eloquent and powerful champion of her race, living to see the rights of her fellow men restored to them, and to rejoice in the triumph of her cause.

A share of that success is due to her efforts, and it would be an injustice not to grant her a place in that galaxy of eminent persons whom we shall hand down to posterity as "Abolitionists." With her rude and native eloquence backed by characteristic moral courage and profound earnestness, she was able to tear the sophistry of the enemies of her race into shreds, or convert it

into a whip of torture for their backs. In the harvest field, on the street corner, at the revival meetings, or on the lecture platform, wherever her tall, thin and bony form arose to speak, her auditors were astonished by her native eloquence, and impressed with the strange force of her intellectual and spiritual power. Many an orator of education and training has envied this old black freed-woman for her subtle power over an audience. Keen and quick-witted, with a memory that never dropped a single thread, she was always ready with an answer that went straight to the mark, and often withered her opponent into silence. Soon after the war of the Rebellion began, Sojourner hastened to Washington where she assisted in caring for the contraband slaves who fled from their broken chains and rebellious masters in large numbers.

But concerning these subsequent events in her later life, the reader is doubtless more or less familiar. My purpose in this article is to speak of her early history, her slave life, and the earliest years of her freedom, and in doing this I hope to correct many

strange stories and false impressions in regard to her which were widely printed and have since prevailed almost universally. And such corrections are made upon the best authority, as will readily appear.

#### HER OLD HOME.

A few rods down the track of the West Shore Railway from the little picturesque West Park station, and just where the road begins to curve and descend to hug the shore of the Hudson River, is the place where Sojourner Truth, then known as "Isabel" spent most of her slave life. The old house is still standing, but has been enlarged and modernized. Immediately adjoining this farm on the south resides the old Dumond family, with whom "Isabel" lived in servitude for over seventeen years. So much having been published concerning the early life of "Old Auntie Truth," and especially her great age, which seemed imaginary to me, I sought and obtained an interview with the survivors of this old Dumond family soon after the death of Sojourner Truth, which occurred at Battle Creek, Mich., in November, 1883. The family dwelling is modest and old-fashioned and has a quaint appearance among the many fine country villas for which the locality has long been noted.

#### NOT A CENTENARIAN.

Solomon W. Dumond and Miss Gertrude Dumond, his sister, both

then on the snowy margin of eighty, were the children of John I. Dumond, who was "Isabel's" master. Miss Dumond has since died, which renders her statement to me more important than ever. When asked to give her recollections of "Isabel," she said:

"My father bought her at private sale in either 1809 or 1810, of Martin Schryver, who then kept a wayside tavern on the post road about two miles from Rondout, now Kingston City. He paid \$70 for her. She was born at the house of Charles Hardenburgh, who then lived at Swarte Kill a place now known as Rifton. Her parents were James and Bet, who were also slaves of Mr. Hardenburgh. The exact date of her birth we never knew, but it could not have been previous to 1795, unless my father was deceived by Mr. Schryver who said she was fourteen years old when he sold her to him. She may have been fifteen, but she certainly did not look any older than that."

"Then you did not consider her a centenarian when she died," I remarked.

"No sir, that is all nonsense. I know she was not a hundred years old, and don't think she was even ninety. If fifteen when she came to us, as before stated, she was only eighty-nine when she died. She was a young slip of a girl when father got her, and could not possibly have been twenty years of age."

On this point Mr. Dumond was

equally positive, and both agreed that even allowing for their possible error in judgment, Sojourner Truth could not possibly have been over ninety-three at death.

THE LAW FOR MANUMITTING SLAVES  
IN NEW YORK.

All that has been published regarding her age is based upon the strange assumption that she was forty years old in 1817 when, as claimed by the press throughout the country, a law was passed by the Legislature of New York State freeing all slaves who had then attained that age. In reality, however, there never was any such law, as any of the writers above alluded to could easily have learned by a little research. The only law passed in 1817 on the manumission of slaves was a reenactment of an old statute passed in 1799. It provided that all negroes, mulattos and mustees within the State, born before July 4, 1799, should be free after July 4, 1827; also that every child born of a slave in the State after the previous date should be free, but must remain the servant of its master's owner until the age of twenty-eight if a "male" and twenty-five if a "female." And the only other provision contained in that law was that every child born of a slave in the state after the passage of that act, must remain a servant, as aforesaid until the age of twenty-one, and no longer. Not a word is said or implied about any forty year provision. This

comprises the abolition of slavery in New York State, and it seems strange that the terms and provisions of so important a measure should be so vaguely understood by those who ought to know. This then disposes of the only theory upon which the age of this woman has previously been figured; and the good people of Battle Creek, Mich., where her later years were spent, were obviously misapprehending the facts, when in 1880 they celebrated what they believed to be Old Auntie Truth's 104th birthday.

Miss Dumond said Isabel lived with them as a slave until 1826, and became free in 1827. In this she is unquestionably correct, as by the terms of the above law no slave could have been freed before that time except by the voluntary act of the owner. Born previous to July, Isabel would be free in July, 1827.

This state of facts of course rules out many of the graphic pictures which have been drawn by enthusiastic writers concerning the earlier existence and experience of this remarkable woman. But inasmuch as she posed before the world as an exemplifier of truth in her later years of religious conviction, it seems fitting that now since her death history should record her life with as much accuracy as possible.

She could not then have seen Kingston in ruins after its destruction by the British in 1777, nor the evacuation of New York in 1783; nor could she have witnessed all the other re-

markable events occurring during that formative period of our Republic's history, which have been located in her youthful days by so many of her biographers. She may indeed, have seen Washington, as she claimed, and possibly remembered the occasion of his death in 1799, but she certainly was not a full grown woman then, as has been stated.

But resuming Isabel's early history as given by Miss Dumond "When about nine years old, Col. Hardenburgh, her original owner, died, and Isabel was sold to a Mr. Neeley, who lived at Twaalfs Kill, now known as Wilbur, a part of Kingston City. From this man she afterward passed into the possession of Mr. Schryver, who sold her to father."

#### HER FLIGHT—CONSULTING THE LORD.

"When she left us in 1826 she ran away by night, taking her infant child with her, and going, as we afterward found to the house of one Isaac Van Wagoner, a Quaker, residing a few miles distant. She returned to us soon afterward and wanted father to keep her child, but he said it was too young to be left without its mother, although we did take the child afterward. Isabel begged father to take her back also, but he refused. He said he had always treated her well; and now since she had run away he would have nothing more to do with her. He then sold out the balance of her time to Mr. Van Wagoner, with whom she remained until she became

free, some nine or ten months later."

In this connection it will be interesting to recall briefly Sojourner's own statement concerning this flight, which she made to a party of visitors at Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's house in Andover, Mass., many years afterward. She said she had been praying in these words. "O God, I been a askin' ye, an' askin' ye, an' askin' ye, for all this long time to make my Massa and Missus better, and you don't do it; an' what can be the reason? Why maybe ye can't. Well, I shouldn't wonder if ye couldn't. Well, now I tell ye, I'll make a bargain with you. E'f you'll help me to get away from my Massa and Missus, I'll agree to be good; but ef you don't help me I really don't think I can be. Now, says I, I want to get away; but the trouble is jess here; ef I try to get away in the night, I can't see, ef I get away in the day, they'll see me, and be after me. Then the Lord said to me 'Git up two or three hours before daylight an' start off.'" This she said she finally did as the Lord advised, and with the result already stated.

#### ISABEL'S. FAMILY RELATIONS — MISCHIEVOUS "PETE."

Miss Dumond said that about 1820 Isabel married Tom, who also belonged to her father. At least Isabel always said they were married; but Tom's version of the affair was that they had merely been out on a frolic together and had agreed to live to-



gether as man and wife. They had five children, four living to grow up; three girls, Dinah, Elizabeth or Bet, and Sophia.

The youngest was a boy named "Pete," and he was a regular Sancho; no one could do anything with him, and everybody expected he would land in State Prison. This was the child she took in her flight, and he was called Peter Van Waggoner afterward. Once while living with Dr. Gedney, a neighbor, this little ebony rascal yoked up a pair of young colts with an ox-yoke, and going to the house soon after to enjoy the fun, he was asked by the doctor what that terrible racket meant out at the barn. Pete, of course, knew nothing about it, and his face was a thunder-cloud of blank astonishment, apparently in full sympathy with his master's bewilderment. He finally went away to Alabama, which greatly troubled his mother when she heard of it, and she managed to get him back after a time. Most of his later life has been spent at sea; when last heard of he was in Canada.

#### HER SKILL AS A FIELD-HAND.

In Miss Dumond's opinion Isabel was an uncommonly smart woman. She had an extraordinary memory, and had she been educated, she would have been "fully the equal of Fred Douglas anyway," as she expressed it. She was a good, faithful servant, and an excellent cook. She was exceedingly strong and healthy, tall,

thin and bony, tough as a whip, and could do more work than any man on the Dumond place. After finishing her work in the house she would frequently go out in the field in summer, and there she would lead all the men. In binding grain, they say, she could bind a sheaf, throw it up in the air, and have another one bound before the other fell. She was very quick in her movements. She could quote scripture freely, remembering all she ever heard read; but it seemed almost impossible to teach her anything. She was an excellent dancer and a good singer, having a pleasant voice, rich and powerful. She was fond of liquor and tobacco, and used both when she could get them, for years, but she became greatly changed in these respects afterwards.

#### SUBDUING A MOB WITH A SONG.

For a time Isabel was a great Methodist and attended every camp meeting she could reach. In later years she would tell how while attending a camp meeting once somewhere in Massachusetts, a riot occurred, and there was a terrible time. The authorities were unable to stop it. Sojourner said she went off some distance from the grounds, and sat down on a stump. She began to sing, she said, in her own weird, strange manner. The mob was soon attracted to the spot, and the rabble gathered around her in crowds, listening almost breathlessly to her Methodist hymns. They were soon apparently

spell-bound by her strange religious songs. She at length arose to go, but they demanded another song. After obtaining from them a promise to depart and leave the meeting in peace, she consented to sing the one other hymn desired. At its conclusion, Sojourner said, they all left the place and there was no more trouble.

She at one time became converted to the Jewish faith, in which she was very enthusiastic for sometime, becoming a devout follower of a certain Jewish Rabbi in New York, who was well known at the time. Her religious convictions always seemed of the strongest character, although she was very changeable. Her belief in a personal Deity was, however, unwavering, and she spoke of what the Almighty would and would not do, as though she was in His secret councils.

#### TREATMENT OF ISABEL.

In regard to the statements which have been made concerning the treatment of Isabel while a slave in the Dumond family, it can only be said that both Miss Dumond and her brother emphatically denied all knowledge of any cruelty or inhuman treatment of her while with them; and they seemed to regard her frequent complaint on this point, since her bondage, as the imaginary wrongs suggested to her by abolition friends. It will be remembered that one of her greatest grievances was, as she claimed, that her children were sold

away from her. Miss Dumond said that all of Isabel's children, save "Pete" who went South, remained with their mother at the Dumond place until they became eighteen years of age, and even afterward. She herself became free and went away before that of course. Solomon Dumond said he had two of the girls with him long after Isabel left, and both said that none of the children were ever sold from her.

#### THE DUMOND FAMILY.

As to the standing and trustworthiness of this Dumond family, it may be remarked here, that it is among the oldest and most respected in Ulster County. Miss Dumond and her brother were cousins of the late Justice T. R. Westbrook of the New York Supreme Court, who they said was a frequent visitor at their father's house when a child and during the bondage of Isabel, who used to hold him in her lap at times. Old John I. Dumond, Isabel's master, was the son of Judge Westbrook's great-great-grandfather, who was brother to Egbert Dumond, the Sheriff of Ulster County, when the New York State government was inaugurated at Kingston.

Walter Dumond, the son of Solomon Dumond, who was at home during my visit, is the person who distinguished himself by his heroic conduct in rescuing a score or more of lives from the wreck of the Steamer Sunnyside in the winter of 1875. The

vessel, as many will remember, was pierced by the ice in the Hudson in December of that year, and sank opposite Hyde Park on the west bank of the river, immediately at the foot of this Dumond farm, and only a few rods from the house. It was a very cold night; and Walter, hearing the shrieks of the drowning and panic-stricken passengers, sprang from his bed, rushed to his boat on the shore, and at the risk of his life, succeeded in saving a large number who must otherwise have perished with the rest. For this he was afterward awarded a medal by the Life Saving and Benevolent Association of New York, which was proudly shown me. The Dumond house was afterwards turned into a hospital for the survivors of the wreck for days afterward.

Miss Dumond said the first finger of Isabel's left hand was taken off by some injury. This member she always seemed confident would grow out again, and she firmly imagined she saw it growing. She could neither talk nor understand anything but

low or Holland Dutch when she came to them, having been brought up in that language. She learned English while with the Dumonds, and with much difficulty, and her speech instead of being like that of Southern plantation negroes, as many writers pleased to quote her, was in fact very similar to that of the unlettered white people of her time. All her children were born on the Dumond place, and it is said that Mrs. Dumond, Sojourner's old Missus, finally died in the arms of her faithful servant. When she first met Mrs. Stowe, replying to her question "You go about lecturing, do you not?" she said: "Yes, Honey, that's what I do. The Lord has made me a sign unto this nation, an' I go around, a testifying, an' showing on 'em their sins 'agin my people." Dr. Lyman Beecher once asked her if she preached from the Bible. "Law, no, I'se can't read a word. I allys preach from jess one text. "When I found Jesus."

H. HENDRICKS.



## OHIO'S EARLY GOVERNORS — EDWARD TIFFIN.

WHILE what is now the State of Ohio, was historically known as "the Territory North West of the River Ohio," that is from 1787 to 1802, General Arthur St. Clair was Governor by authority of the National Government. In December of the last named year, President Jefferson, in the exercise of his authority, terminated the official relations between Governor St. Clair and the Territory, the people of said Territory, by authority of Congress, having in November, 1802, formed a State Constitution, preparatory to the establishment of a State Government.

In compliance with the provisions of said Constitution an election for Governor of Ohio was held early in the year 1803, Edward Tiffin of Ross county, being the only candidate for said office, the records showing that he received only 4550 votes, and that no votes were cast for any other candidate, there being no organized opposition to Mr. Tiffin.

The State Legislature being duly convened held its first session in March 1803, and proceeded to inaugurate Governor Edward Tiffin, who read to them his inaugural address,

or first message. The Legislature also proceeded, without delay, to elect certain officers, which were provided for by the Constitution, and to regularly organize the State Government.

Among other duties of the Legislature that body was required to organize the Courts, Common Pleas and Supreme, elect the Judges of both Courts, also other officers, and elect two United States Senators, all of which duties were duly performed.

The first Legislature was also required to provide for adequate representation in the popular branch of Congress, which they did by making a single district of the entire State, (our population was sparse then), and that district was represented in the Congress of the United States, without any change of district lines, until 1813, a period of ten years, and during that period Jeremiah Morrow was Ohio's only representative in Congress. His was one of our most honored names for half a century, serving many years in the Executive office and in both houses of Congress.

The first Legislature elected two United States Senators for Ohio,

these being Thomas Worthington of Ross county (a brother-in-law of Governor Tiffin), and Rev. John Smith of Hamilton County. The first named gentleman subsequently became one of Ohio's most prominent statesmen.

Edward Tiffin was a native of England, born at or near Carlisle, June 19, 1766. He emigrated to the United States in 1786, and located at Charlestown, Berkeley county, Virginia, but removed from there to Chillicothe, a thrifty, prosperous town, situated on the Sciota river, in the Territory North West of the River Ohio, in 1798, where he became a permanent settler. Chillicothe was for a time the seat of Government of the North West Territory, and was the first seat of Government of Ohio, being made such in 1803, and remained such, except during the years 1810-12, when it was temporarily at Zanesville. It was finally established at Columbus in 1816. Chillicothe, however, has remained one of Ohio's most substantial and prosperous inland cities, to the present time.

Edward Tiffin was a gentleman of high character, of pure morals, and of dignified deportment. He held strong anti-slavery sentiments, and on arranging to locate in the North West Territory he was reputed to have placed himself certainly, unmistakably, unequivocally in harmony with the celebrated ordinance of July 13, 1787, that immortal Charter of Freedom, which was the basis, the

fundamental law, the constitution really of the Territory North West of the River Ohio. The act by which Edward Tiffin put himself in entire harmony with the Ordinance of Freedom, was the emancipation of his slaves, by which act he gave force and effect to opinions he had held nominally, theoretically, substantially, heartily, practically, during the previous years of his adult life.

It was in all probability due to State-craft which had placed almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of practical and effective emancipation that Edward Tiffin and other Virginia philanthropists and statesmen of decided anti-slavery sentiments and purposes did not, at an earlier period in the history of the "Ancient Dominion" practically carry into effect their long-cherished and well-matured philanthropic purposes, (as was the case with John Randolph of Roanoke, and others that might be named). But when the way was finally opened to Edward Tiffin for effective emancipation, by the adoption of Freedom's Ordinance he cheerfully embraced the opportunity thus presented (as did many others of like sentiments, similarly situated,) and emancipated those they had held in bondage.

The Constitution of Ohio made the Executive of the State eligible to that office for two terms of two years each, accordingly the second election for Governor of Ohio came on in 1805. Governor Tiffin's administration of



public affairs had been so entirely satisfactory to the people of Ohio that when the day came to hold the election for the second time, no candidate appeared to oppose the re-election of Governor Tiffin; and being urged by his friends acquiesced, and gave his consent to be voted for the second time for Governor of Ohio, if no other desired to be a candidate, and there being none to contest the Governorship with him, his election was certain, he receiving 4788 votes, all that were cast, and of course was declared re-elected, his term to continue from 1805 to 1807.

Governor Tiffin closed his second gubernatorial term in 1807, with great credit to himself and with a well-earned reputation for ability, integrity and undoubted patriotism, and his fame and history remain untarnished to the present day. None of his successors in the Executive office of Ohio, although they were generally men of high character, were reputed to have discharged their official duties with greater fidelity, or in the spirit of a higher order of patriotism, or acquired a better reputation for personal or official honor or for honesty of purpose than was enjoyed by Edward Tiffin who was twice honored by the people of Ohio, by elections to the office of Executive of that intelligent commonwealth, as above stated.

Happily the excellent reputation of Edward Tiffin had preceded him to the North West Territory. His pre-

dominant and most admirable characteristics were known by many of the intelligent settlers of the Territory, even before he reached there in person in 1798, which was the date of his location in the Territory North West of the River Ohio. Among the evidences of Edward Tiffin's high standing and popularity in Territorial times, it may be stated that in the closing year of the last century (1799), the preliminary steps were taken to establish a second grade of government, with a legislature elected in part, by popular vote. The people of Ross County elected Edward Tiffin a member of the popular branch of this Legislature, and when this body of legislators was organized they chose Mr. Tiffin as their presiding officer.

And by way of further proof of Edward Tiffin's popularity among the Territorial settlers in early times, it may be observed that when in 1802 there met a body of men selected from all sections of the Territory charged with the responsible duties of forming a State Constitution, Edward Tiffin was one of them, chosen by a very intelligent constituency, residing in Ross county; and that intelligent body of statesmen, honored Mr. Tiffin and themselves as well, by electing him as the President of their body. And it should be stated that at the second election which occurred in 1801, for members of the popular branch of the Territorial Legislature Edward Tiffin was

not only honored by a re-election, but was doubly honored by being again chosen as their presiding officer, thus establishing unequivocally his popularity at that time which was in one of the last years of the Territory.

We gladly give these conclusive proofs of Governor Tiffin's popularity and high standing during the closing years of the North West Territory. And it was so during his later career. His administrations as Governor, as we have said, were acceptable and generally popular, and he retained his popularity for many years.

After the close of his last term as Governor, he frequently held highly

honorable official positions, among others being that of United States Senator, first by appointment in 1807 when he filled the vacancy created by Senator John Smith; and in 1809 when he succeeded Senator Meigs.

And in conclusion we add briefly that Governor Tiffin was honored by an appointment by President Madison in 1812, to the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office, which he held a number of years; and lastly he held the responsible position of Surveyor General of the North West, which office he held until near his death, which occurred at Chillicothe in 1829.

ISAAC SMUCKER.



## THE PORT OF THE ANGELS.

PORT ANGELES, WASHINGTON.



AN OLYMPIC HUNTER.

THE Puget Sound region in northwestern Washington is one of the most interesting localities of the great American continent. Its settlement is a story of modern history—an accomplishment of the last half century—but the coast hereabouts had been more or less carefully explored by Pacific voyagers, English, Spanish

and American, ever since the memorable excursion of Sir Francis Drake in 1579.

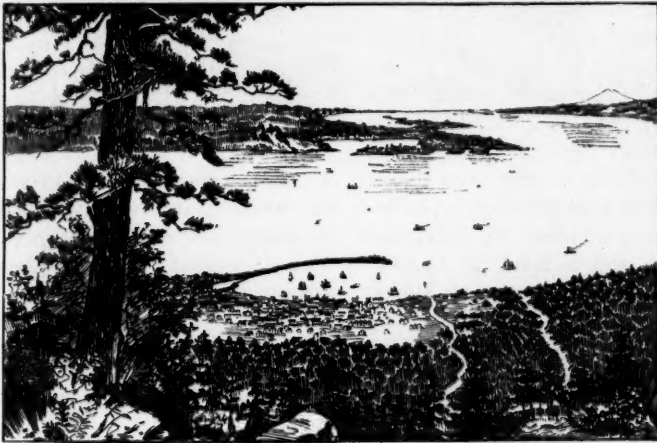
Vancouver's Island (ancient "Nootka") is fitted into the mouth of Puget Sound in such a way as to form two straits—Georgia, between the east coast of the island and the mainland, and San Juan de Fuca between the mainland and the south shore of the island. An arm of the strait of San Juan de Fuca juts into the southern mainland, at a point opposite the present city of Victoria, forming a splendid inlet, which General McClelland declared to be "the first attempt of nature on this coast to form a good harbor."<sup>1</sup> Situated on this inlet is Port Angeles—the latest phenomenon of a city built in a day.

Tradition states that Port Angeles was discovered by Spanish voyagers of the sixteenth century, who, making the shelter during a storm, named it "Puerto de Los Angeles," the Port of the Angels. The first practical discovery of these waters, however, was made about a hundred years ago. Barclay, an Englishman, discovered the strait of San Juan de Fuca in

<sup>1</sup> Pacific R. R. Report, vol. 12, p. 278.

1787, but did not enter it. In 1789 Captain John Kendrick, an American, discovered Vancouver's Island and explored the strait of Fuca. He sailed through a strait, says the old record, "whose southern entrance is Fuca, and the northern shore above Queen Charlotte Island." He also bought from the Indians huge tracts of the lands he discovered, and sent the deeds to the Government at Wash-

of Louisiana by Jefferson in 1803 opened the way to put forth this claim, while the explorations of Lewis and Clark, during the same administration, strengthened the American cause. The Missouri Fur Company, in 1809, established a post on the Snake River, while the Winships of Boston, in 1810, and Astor of New York, in 1811, established Astoria, on the Columbia. Then



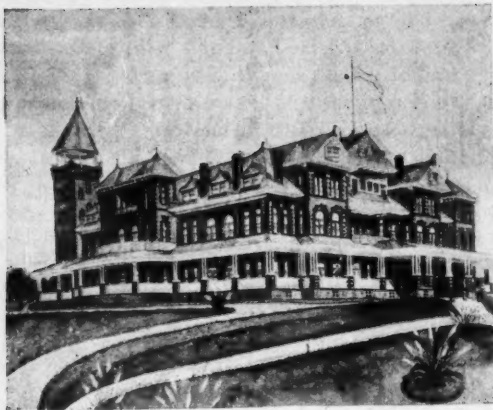
PORT ANGELES—THE CHERBOURG OF AMERICA.

ington. Kendrick was accompanied to the Pacific by Captain Robert Gray, the two men changing about in the command of the companion vessels, the "Columbia" and "Lady Washington." These expeditions formed the principal basis of the claim of the United States to the northwestern territory.

The purchase of the vast territory

came the interminable boundary dispute, in which the Hudson Bay Company of England, the Astor Company, and many pioneer Americans, figured prominently, and which was not finally settled until 1846, when the claim of the United States was recognized.

John R. Jackson was the first permanent settler in the Puget Sound country of whom we find any authen-



HOTEL AT PORT ANGELES.

tic record, and he was immediately followed, in October, 1845, by a small colony of seven men. Of these Jesse Ferguson and Samuel B. Crockett were single, while James McAllister, David Kindred, Gabriel Jones, George W. Bush and Michael Simmons were accompanied by their wives and families. All these men came from Oregon. Port Angeles was settled by a few squatters some years later and remained insignificant until political influences brought the place into prominence.

Upon the succession of President Lincoln in 1860, at the instance of his Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, Mr. Victor Smith of Ohio, was made Collector of Customs at Port Townsend, on Puget Sound, a port some distance east, and further inland than Port Angeles. Smith

soon represented to the Government at Washington the advisability of removing the Custom House from Port Townsend to Port Angeles, as a better strategic location from a commercial standpoint. By this course Smith naturally aroused enemies in the growing community of Port Townsend, and the latter declared that Smith owned a fifth interest in a Port Angeles land company, that had recently been organized, and was influenced in the Custom House question by his desire to sell town lots in the new settlement.

Whether this charge was well-founded or unjust, Smith succeeded in his design, and in June, 1862, a bill passed Congress authorizing the proposed removal of the Custom House. Various complications, including a charge of embezzlement of public



funds preferred by his enemies, had forced Smith to visit Washington, D. C., and when he returned to Port Townsend, the authorities refused to deliver up the key to the Custom House. Smith took summary measures, however. He went on board the revenue cutter, "Shubrick," which lay in the harbor and, assuming command, began to fire upon the rebellious town, which very soon came to terms. After the capture of the Court House, the books and papers were taken on board the cutter, and for some time all the customs business was transacted on the deck of the "Shubrick." In September, 1862, the Custom House was formally located at Port Angeles, where a building had been erected, and where a population of about two hundred souls had congregated.

Port Angeles as it appeared at this

time, is thus described by Mr. H. H. Bancroft: "It was well protected from the north winds by the sand spit of Ediz Hook, three miles in length, running out eastward, and from the southeast gales by the mainland, and had a good depth of water, besides lying more directly in the path of commerce than its rival [Port Townsend]. . . . Three small streams ran down from the highlands back of it, and furnished abundance of water, the Custom House, a fine large structure, being built at the mouth of the canon through which one of these rivulets ran, Smith's residence adjoining it and the other buildings being near these central ones."<sup>1</sup>

The new port thrived wonderfully for a short time after its acquisition

<sup>1</sup> History of the Pacific States, vol. 26, pp. 223-4.



OPERA HOUSE.



CITY AND HARBOR OF PORT ANGELES.

of the customs business, but this brief period of prosperity was cut short by a severe catastrophe in December, 1863. It will be remembered that the Custom House was located at the mouth of a cañon which served as the bed of a small river. For several days in December, in the language of Mr. Bancroft, this stream "was dried up, the unknown cause being a land-slide which had fallen into the narrow gorge about five miles from Port Angeles, and by

carrying everything before it, and entirely changing the face of the ground swept by it.

"Crushed like an egg-shell, the Custom House fell and was carried out into the harbor. Deputy Collector, J. M. Anderson, formerly of Ohio, and Inspector William B. Goodell, lately master of the tug "General Harney," stood at the front entrance of the building as the water and debris it carried struck the rear side. Their bodies were found



RESIDENCE OF J. S. COOLICAN.

damming up the water formed a lake. On the afternoon of the 16th of December, it being almost dark, a terrible roaring and tearing sound was heard in the canon, and in a few moments a frightful calamity was upon the until now prosperous new town. The earth which formed the dam had at length given way, freeing a body of water fifteen feet in height, which rushed in a straight volume,

two hundred feet away, covered four feet deep with earth and fragments of buildings and furniture. . . . No lives were lost excepting those of the two Custom House officers, but the town was in ruins, and although an effort was made to resuscitate it by removing what remained to a better site higher up the coast, it never recovered from the calamity and gradually diminished in population, until

it was reduced to the condition of a small farming community."<sup>1</sup>

But the original Port Angeles, which was begun so auspiciously, and a few months later was thus summarily annihilated, had little in common with the present city, except identity of location. The story of modern Port Angeles is the story of but three brief years. The United States Government had been interested in the original attempt to build up the city. In July, 1862, one month after the passage of the law removing the Custom House from Port Townsend to Port Angeles, a second bill was passed by Congress, characterized as "a bill for increasing revenue by reservation and sale of town sites." The Government reserved a large tract of land in and about Port Angeles, and sold town lots by auction to the highest bidder. Thus this far western port shares with Washington, D. C., the distinction of a city of which the general government was the original proprietor and chief colonizer and "boomer." When the flood overtook the infant municipality it had sought to foster, the Government still retained its holding of land in the shape of a large reservation; and now, since the regeneration of Port Angeles, the Government is once more disposing of town lots in fulfillment of the original plan of thirty years ago.

The present city of Port Angeles,

as has been said, has sprung into existence within the past three years. On January 1, 1890, the town numbered only some 400 souls. By the following June this number had been increased to 1,009, and the community was incorporated as a town of the fourth class. By November, 1890, the population had reached 2,500; in January, following, the number was 3,000, while the corporation was advanced to that of a city of the third class. At the present writing Port Angeles boasts a population of more than 5,000, with no apparent halt in her phenomenal growth. Remarkable natural advantages, and the belief that this port is destined to become the great commercial center on the Pacific sea-board, as New York is the metropolis of the Atlantic, has inspired this development. The harbor is the chief feature in which the new city has a superlative advantage over her rivals. "A remarkable and beautiful harbor, in which no winds blow home," is the description of Captain Richards of the Royal Navy.<sup>1</sup> "On the south side of the strait [Juan de Fuca] it is the occasional northwester which are dreaded," says another authority, "and against them there is only a single harbor of value — Port Angeles. A curving spit reaching out from the shore encloses an oval harbor three miles long, which is sufficiently deep for the use of any vessel, and thoroughly protected. The shores are

<sup>1</sup> History of the Pacific States, vol. 26, pp. 224-5.

<sup>1</sup> Reports of Surveys on North Western Coast Harbors.

admirably adapted for wharfage purposes, and the country behind the port abounds in splendid timber and in soils valuable for agriculture. Many persons regard it as certain that one of the chief seaports of this region will eventually grow here."<sup>1</sup>

Port Angeles is on the opposite side

great region of northwestern America, dependent upon and tributary to the Sound. The natural advantages have been utilized, and the new city improved in a fashion highly creditable to the spirit of western enterprise. Large ocean piers have been built here and there along the five miles of water front; business blocks, school houses, churches, public halls, large hotels, an opera house, and beautiful residences have been erected on the broad streets of the



A SPRUCE TREE.

of the strait of Juan de Fuca, from Victoria, B. C., and only fifteen miles distant, and the Canadian Pacific Railway is about to establish an extensive ferry system between the two cities. Communication south and east with the United States will be provided by the project of the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads to construct branch lines to the port. In short, the new city holds the commercial key to Puget Sound, and all that



SQUATTERS CABIN ON THE RESERVE.

place. More than twenty miles of streets—all of a uniform width of eighty feet have been laid out, together with a number of splendid boulevards one hundred feet in width. One-fourth of this street area is already carefully graded, and lined with sidewalks. The city has established an electric lighting plant and an excellent system of water works; daily steamboat connections with

<sup>1</sup> North Pacific Pilot, pp. 485-6.



Victoria and all other Puget Sound ports are established, and a daily mail service secured. By recent decision of the government, Port Angeles is made a full port of entry and call, and already the place has taken first rank among the ports of Puget Sound in the number of vessels entered and cleared. In addition to the three grand trunk lines, the Canadian, Northern and Union Pacific, four other railway companies have been organized to focus at Port Angeles, as the common center. The First National Bank of Port Angeles was organized by its first president, B. F. Schwartz, in September, 1891, and immediately secured popular support. Mr. Schwartz, for ten years, was connected with the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C. He is also President of the Bank of Port Angeles, organized in May, 1890.

These commercial advantages are supplemented by unusual natural resources. The mountains within ten miles of the city are stocked with supplies of semi-anthracite and blacksmith coal, as well as the precious metals, while the same lands are covered by well-nigh inexhaustible forests of cedar, hemlock, fir and spruce. The slopes immediately in the rear of the city are admirably adapted for agricultural and grazing purposes.

As a place of residence Port Angeles presents more of the advantages and fewer of the inconveniences of the peculiar climate of the Pacific coast than almost any other city.

The maximum annual rainfall is only thirty inches, while at Cape Flattery, sixty miles distant, it reaches the phenomenal figures of 120 inches per annum. This great difference is accounted for by the fact that Port Angeles is situated at the eastern base of the Olympic Range, whose snow-capped peaks wring from the travelling clouds most of their moisture on the western slopes before they have passed the range. Moreover, the coldest day ever recorded on the shores of Juan de Fuca was three degrees above zero, while the hottest weather in summer is never above eighty. An ordinary winter does not induce a temperature lower than twenty degrees above zero.

For beauty of its natural settings of landscape and sea, this city can defy almost any competitor in the world. "For scenic beauty," says the *North American Review*, "Port Angeles cannot be surpassed outside of Italy. The lay of the country makes it naturally one of the most beautiful sites for a city in the world, the ground gradually sloping from the base of the Olympic Range, a distance of ten or twelve miles, to the shores of Port Angeles Bay and strait of Juan de Fuca. Everywhere from this beautiful slope of country can be obtained a magnificent view of the snow-capped Olympic mountains, the blue waters of Puget Sound, Port Angeles Bay and Strait of Juan de Fuca, and farther in the distance can be seen the shores of

British Columbia, Victoria, its capital, and the snow-capped peaks of Mount Baker."

If the prophets be not at fault, the strait of San Juan de Fuca is destined soon to become a familiar name on the tongue of the English speaking people, for "toward the wider end of

Before concluding this sketch we are tempted to revert to an incident which although not strictly a part of the history of Port Angeles, yet intimately concerned the individual most active in the planting of the town, and which, therefore, by virtue of its own romantic complexion, must



CENTRAL SCHOOL, FIRST WARD.

this strait\*which is 100 miles long and from 10 to 20 miles wide, standing *vis-a-vis*, are the two cities that during the coming decade are sure to attract the attention of the entire country—Victoria, B. C., and Port Angeles, Wash."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> North American Review.

ever figure as a picturesque side-light in the story of the young city.

Collector of the Port, Victor Smith, the patron of Port Angeles, who secured the removal of the Custom House from Port Townsend in 1862, after the demolition of Port Angeles by flood, was promoted by the Gov-

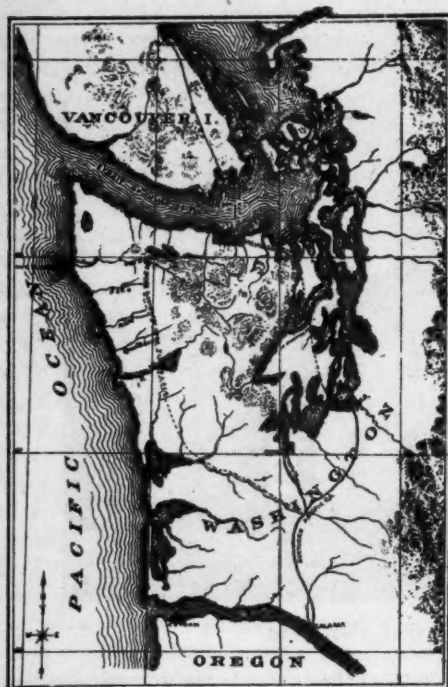
ernment from the position of Collector of the Port to that of Special Treasury Agent of the United States for the Pacific Coast. In this capacity he transported millions of dollars of Government treasure from the Treasury vaults in the east to the

carrying with him some \$3,000,000 in trust for the Government.

Mr. Smith encountered some trouble at the outset of his journey which did not augur well for the success of it. Before embarking he found himself shadowed by one

Montgomery Gibbs—who is not, however, to be confounded with the famous pirate Gibbs who was hanged, however similar their inclinations and operations may seem to have been. In fact, the famous pirate was caught and triced up long before the time of this Montgomery Gibbs, whereas the latter may be alive to this day for ought that is known to the contrary. Suffice it to say that the Gibbs in question was a detective employed in the Secret Service of the Treasury Department, but much more concerned, as there is reason to believe, in furthering his own personal interests than in looking after the interests of the Government.

Having by some means discovered that Smith was in charge of a large treasure, Gibbs shadowed the Pacific Agent, and at length followed him on board the "Golden Rule," as that vessel was about to start on her voyage. Believing that this espionage was a private enterprise on Gibbs' part, rather than a commission of the Government, Smith had the detective arrested and put off the

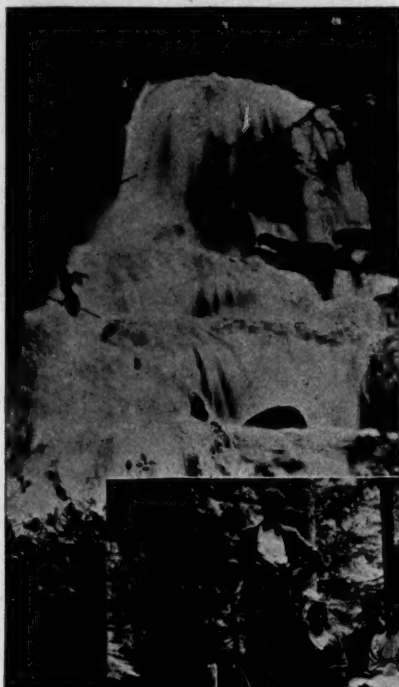


Pacific Coast. The last of these voyages was undertaken in May, 1865, and proved to be a most unfortunate affair for both Mr. Smith and the Government. He took ship for Panama from New York City on the "Golden Rule," Captain Denny,

vessel. The "Golden Rule" then set sail, and was proceeding peacefully on her way when another craft,

to put back to port for repairs. This might be considered merely an unfortunate yet common-place accident, were it not for the fact that the colliding boat had Gibbs aboard, and had been secured by him for the special purpose of pursuing and overtaking the "Golden Rule."

However, the wily detective made no further demonstration beyond the matter of the innocent collision, and during the three days wherein the "Golden Rule" was undergoing repairs, the anxious Smith saw no sign of him. But when the ship was once more well out to sea, the pseudo-



LYRE FALLS  
NEAR  
PORT  
ANGELES.



A CEDAR STUMP.

following in her wake, overtook her and violently collided with her wheel, inflicting injuries which obliged her

detective emerged from his place of concealment in the hold, which he had occupied, evidently through the

connivance of the captain, and appeared boldly on deck. As the voyage progressed he even boldly demanded, in the name of the Treasury Department, that Smith should tell him where the money was deposited. The Special Agent refused, but Gibbs somehow learned this secret.

This story, as it progresses, has all the elements of the regulation melodrama, the villain performing his part with characteristic impudence and boldness. Even the necessary ship-wreck actually took place. The "Golden Rule" struck on Ronkadore reef in the Carribean Sea. Whether Captain Denny was already fully immeshed with Gibbs in a plot to rob the Government, and the ship-wreck was deliberately planned as part of the scheme is not certain as the incident occurred during something of a storm, and, of course, excited no suspicion at the time.

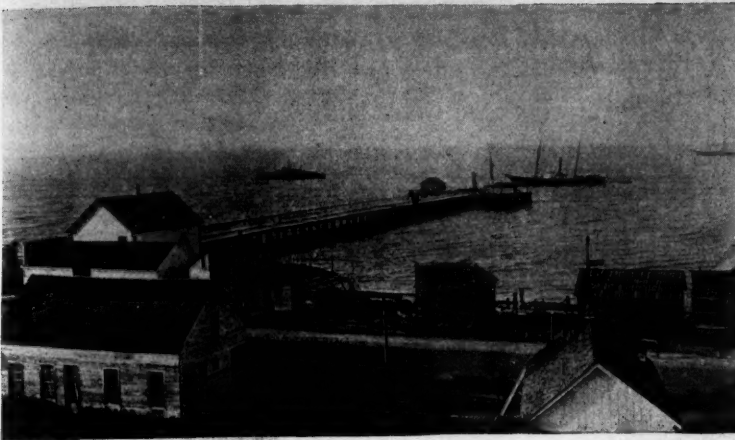
The mate of the ship manned a boat with sailors and set out for Colon, where he arrived after a most perilous voyage. Two United States gunboats, the "Huntsville" and "State of Georgia," set out from Colon immediately after the mate's arrival, and rescued all the passengers save one. This one was Victor Smith, who refused to be taken off the reef until the treasure which had been entrusted to him was recovered. Thus he was left on the reef alone for three weeks after the rest were gone, until he was finally rescued by a Government revenue cutter.

The vessel had entirely gone to pieces, but among the general wreckage, however, was found the safe in which the treasure and bonds had been secured, but it contained no money. It had been forced open—there were evidences of the use of crow-bars and cold chisels—



THE PILLARS—CHALLEN BAY





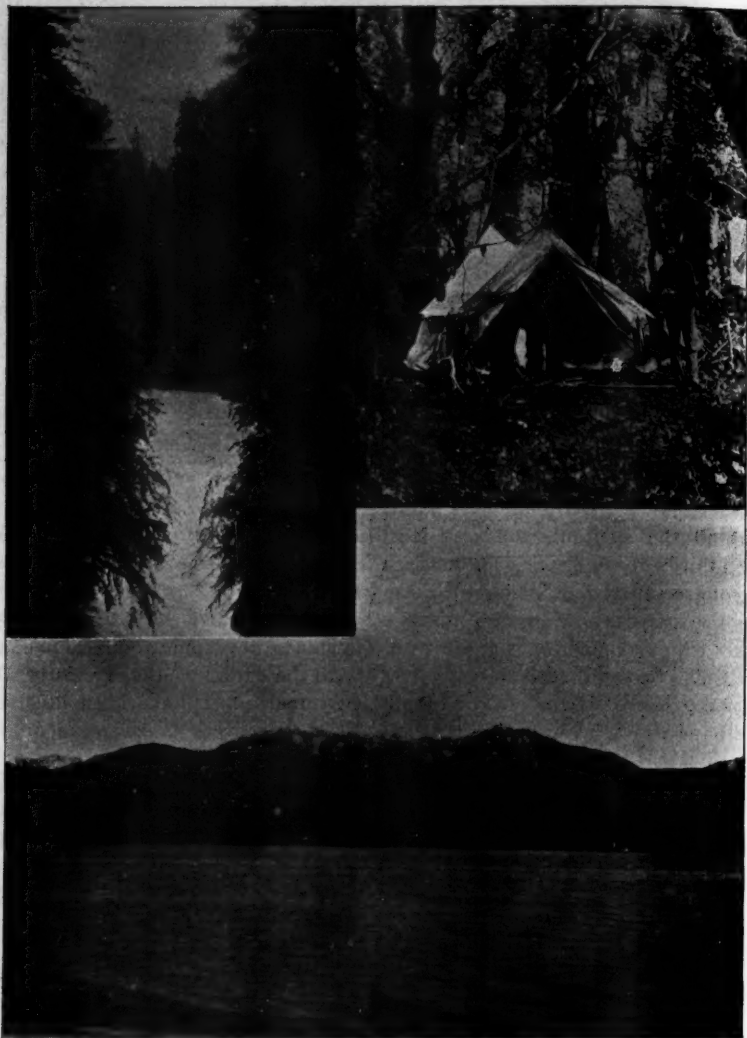
PORT ANGELES IN 1862.

and all the available funds stolen. Two-thirds of the \$3,000,000, consisting of greenback and Treasury Notes, were missing, while another third—notes which needed the signature of the Sub-Treasurer at San Francisco to make them currency—were found scattered about. It was evident that the thief was expert enough to know that these notes were valueless.

Having no clue to the robbery beyond his well-founded suspicions of Gibbs, Smith pushed on to Panama, where he contracted a severe fever. The disease remained with him until he reached San Francisco, and when he finally recovered, and set out from the latter city for Port Angeles, his misfortunes culminated in a violent death. He was one of the passengers on the ill-fated "Brother Jonathan," which sank off Point St. George with

all on board. Of course the robbery of the safe on the wrecked "Golden Rule" excited general suspicion when it became known, as it was evident that some one conversant with the affairs of the Treasury Department must have been involved. Thus there were many grave doubts whether Smith was as innocent as he had professed to be, although since the movements of Gibbs have been known, he has been universally credited with engineering the whole affair.

A very remarkable corroborative link in the chain of evidence is found in the after lives of both Gibbs and Captain Denny of the "Golden Rule." Gibbs remained thereafter in Europe, principally in Paris, where he lived in luxurious style, seemingly with an unlimited fortune, although he never before had shown any evi-



VIEWS NEAR PORT ANGELES.

Elwha River, Lower Cañon.

Hunter's Camp on the Elwha.

Mt. Angeles from the Spit.

dence of the possession of wealth. In after years, also, he was charged with the embezzlement of £25,000 from an English steam-ship company. Gibbs is supposed to be yet alive and living some where in Egypt. Captain Denny, likewise, was a poor man before the voyage of the "Golden Rule;" that disastrous voyage was his first trip out—and his last also, as it proved, for his license was revoked. Nevertheless, he retired a rich man, and, building himself a fine house in Seven Mills, New York, lived handsomely until the time of his death several years ago.

An additional element of mystery was imparted to the case by the fact that no investigation of the robbery was ever instigated by the Treasury Department, from which it was surmised by some, that the chief Treasury officials knew more about the affair than they wished to air before the public. There is no evidence of

this, however, and the exciting events during and following the close of the Civil War, together with the prevailing spirit of lawlessness necessarily attending upon war, are a sufficient combination fully to account for any apparent laxity in pushing an inquiry in the case. Nevertheless it would be interesting to know authoritatively whether, at the time, Smith or Gibbs was most in the confidence of the Treasury Department, and whether Gibbs was really detailed to follow or accompany Smith and the treasure, or was altogether an impostor in this respect.

Mr. Norman R. Smith, son of Victor Smith, and the present Mayor of Port Angeles, accompanied his father on the voyage of the "Golden Rule." He was eight years of age at the time, but vividly recollects all the circumstances of the voyage and wreck.

W. R. MCGARRY.



LOG DRIVE ON CHALLEN RIVER.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENT—LETTER OF THE BOARD OF NINE MEN.

ACCREDITING DELEGATES TO HOLLAND, 1649.

As in the New England town-meeting, civil liberty in the Netherlands or Holland found its cradle in the town. But while in America the town was a large territory, covering many square miles of open country, in the older Republic the town was a limited space, surrounded by walls and filled with crowded streets. In these narrow spaces began to develop a class of human beings finally rising to the dignity of being called the people. Their confrères of like degree outside, were not much more than chattels; to think of them as having any right to take part in government was as absurd as to concede such right to crows or foxes. But within the walls the cheorls or churls, as artisans, or workmen, or shopkeepers, were distinctly recognized. Here the burghers, of whatever lineage or degree originally, who had acquired a little property, had a voice in the affairs of state. It was a very feeble voice; their influence was exceedingly limited; it began at the very bottom of the governmental superstructure. But still the common people had both voice and influence. It was the entering

wedge, which succeeding centuries saw driven in further and further, until power was wrested entirely from privilege, and fell into the hands of those for whose benefit it is meant to be wielded.

In the towns of Holland the share of the people in the government began thus: "A great council of the citizens possessing certain property qualifications, met annually and chose eight or nine 'good men;' these in turn elected the burgomasters and the candidates, from whom the schout, as representative of his master, selected the schepens." The burgomasters were a sort of municipal upper-house, or senate, composed of two, four, or more members, in even numbers. The schepens (Latin, *scabini*) might be called the lower-house, or the board of assistant-aldermen, were it not that their functions were more distinctively judicial. They were a regular court, civil and criminal. The schout was a sort of Mayor, representing the Count or Baron of the province. Yet later, the burgomasters (and at present one burgomaster) represented our Mayor, while the schout became a more sub-

ordinate functionary, resembling our sheriff.

Now, New Amsterdam became a Dutch city or town about 1653, while Director Peter Stuyvesant reigned over the land. Then appeared upon the scene two burgomasters and a proper number of schepens. The latter functionaries, in contradistinction from the burgomasters were always in the odd numbers of three, five, seven, or nine. But even under Director Kieft, in the face of the terrors of the Indian wars, ten years before, the Dutch spirit of self-government, of which the people had had experience for generations, broke through the restrictions of colonial government, and chose a body of men to the number of twelve, who were to be consulted by the Director. The pressure of war gone, Kieft soon made this Council or Assembly of the Twelve a nugatory affair, falling into innocuous desuetude. But later during his rule and again under Stuyvesant, the magic number of the "good men" was hit upon, to establish a body of Nine Men to represent the people and watch over their interests as invaded or ignored by the stern Director. We used the word reign advertently, a moment ago. Hard-headed Peter almost exercised, or certainly tried to exercise, despotic rule. But the Dutch colonists were the worst people in the world to try that experiment on. The Nine Men were called into being with a definite purpose: to realize some of that kind

of republican government which prevailed in the United Provinces. And when Stuyvesant attempted the other thing, there was bound to be a clash or a crash somewhere. We hear the mutterings of the thunder rolling among the sentences of the petition which the Nine Men addressed to the States General, or Congress of the Dutch Republic. It was a bill of grievances, enumerating the tyrannical practices of the Director General. Not satisfied with putting this matter on paper, the grim determination of these thorough-going republicans to have done with despotism however petty, is shown by the fact that they actually delegated three men to carry the petition personally to Holland, and to present it in person, with oral comments and the prompt answer of plain interrogations, if called for. To be sure that their mission might not be misunderstood, a letter of credence was given them, signed by eight of the Nine Men, as one of the three delegates was also one of that number.

This letter reads as follows:

GREAT, POWERFUL, HIGH AND MIGHTY SOVEREIGNS.

After our distressed circumstances had forced and obliged us to represent the poor condition of this country and to pray for redress therein, we considered it proper to delegate also some persons whom we know and acknowledge to be honorable, honest and trustworthy; likewise well experienced in, and acquainted with, the circumstances of this country, in order that they may furnish your High Mightinesses, if such be your will and pleasure, with further informa-





tion and explanation on every subject & circumstance, and also to importune your High Mightinesses to grant seasonable relief and aid. We, therefore, hereby humbly entreat and request your High Mightinesses to be pleased to give credence in all things that they may do or say in the premises, to these persons, to wit, ADRIAEN VAN DER DONCK, JACOB VAN COUWENHOVEN, and JAN EVERTSE BOUT, our Delegates and Agents, inasmuch as we know them for persons of honor and of good name and fame, also right well disposed towards the interest of this country. With humble reverence we pray your High Mightinesses to be pleased to grant them a favorable audience, and we are and remain your High Mightinesses' faithful subjects.

We have, in addition, presumed to send your High Mightinesses a specimen of this country's products, crops and forage, most humbly praying that, according to our straightened circumstances, it may be graciously accepted, which we pray God also to grant, to whose keeping we ever commend your High Mightinesses' persons, deliberations and undertakings. Amen.

In the name, and on the behalf, of the Commonalty of New Netherland, Done the 26th July 1649 in New Amsterdam, on the Island Manhattans in New Netherland.

(Signed) AUGUSTIN HERMAN.  
ARNOLDUS VAN HARDENBERCH.  
OLOFF STEVENSS.  
MACHVEL JANSSEN.  
THOMAS HALL.  
ELBERT ELBERTSEN.  
GOVERT LOOCKERMANS.  
HENDRICK HENDRICKSEN KIP.

The original of this letter is pre-

served among the Royal Archives at the Hague, and here the indefatigable Brodhead discovered it. Naturally enough he seized upon it as an important documentary treasure, had it copied, brought it to Albany, and deposited the copy in the State Archives. When it was resolved to publish these documents, the letter was translated and appears on p. 258, Vol. I., of "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York."

It seemed of interest to look upon the actual characters which conveyed such sturdy sentiments. The document was indicated to the General Archivist, or Keeper of the Rolls, at the Hague, Mr. T. H. F. Van Riemsdyk, which was an easy matter, as Mr. Brodhead took care to mark its whereabouts: "*Loket Kas* of the States General; Rubric, *Westindische Compagnie*, No. 30. Division 2." With the courtesy and cordial accommodation which so honorably distinguishes the Dutch Archivists, Mr. Van Riemsdyk at once looked up the original document, and permitted it to be photographed. The fac-simile on another page, is copied from the photograph thus made, and enables the American student to observe its exact original appearance.

## HISTORICAL NOTES.

History        We are none too  
and            rich in legendary lore  
Poetry.        on this New Contin-  
                ent of ours, and in  
                our young Republic.

Tradition, carrying the tales of events by mouth from generation to generation, and losing nothing in embellishment by this verbal carriage—has had no chance (or not much) to place events of the past in dim and mystic lights, wherein ghostly fantastic shapes mingle with grim realities. The grim realities have had the whole field, for on this side the Atlantic the newspaper and the historical society are almost coeval with history itself. Yet once in a while (and Godspeed to them all) we have had a Cooper with his "Spy," a Hawthorne with his "Septimius Felton" and the battle of Lexington, or with his "Scarlet Letter" and a still earlier period. A Longfellow we have had as well who has given us a poetic version of "Paul Revere's Ride." It is possible that, being a poet, he exercised some of the license usually accorded to that "fine-frenzied" individual; and thus possibly misread so eminently accurate a chronicler as Bancroft, get-

ting some of the events mixed. In that case it would seem quite sufficient to take the history and the poetry "unmixed;" turning to the one if we wanted information, and to the other if we wanted a little elevation of sentiment. But a certain newspaper man of Boston thought differently. The unbridled license of Longfellow's spirited ballad shocked him, and so he took a ride in a "herdic," accompanied by an "artist" (of as much soul doubtless as he himself possessed) over the ground that Paul Revere rode the Deacon's admirable mare. And he dilates in a semi-humorous style on the fact that somebody else was watching the lanterns; on the specific circumstance that, while Longfellow makes Revere "mount the steep" on the road to Medford, the newspaper man found it "as level as a billiard table;" and finally Longfellow is discovered to be all wrong as to Revere's "getting there" after all, for he never did, but was captured when about half-way between Lexington and Concord. Now this is really unpardonable in Mr. Longfellow, for he might have read the correct account of the term-

ination of Revere's ride in Mr. Bancroft's history. The only consolation we may derive from these melancholy deficiencies on his part is that had he made no mistake—or (at least) had he not boldly used his license as a poet, the ride in the "herdic," by this brilliant newspaper investigator, would never have been taken, with or without an artist.

\* \* \*

About            On Water Street,  
Benedict        New Haven, still  
Arnold.        stands the house built  
                 in 1771 by Benedict  
                 Arnold, and occupied  
                 by him until after the

breaking out of the Revolution. It was a good house for its day, surrounded by spacious grounds and a fine orchard. This property also belonged at one time (1802-1812) to Noah Webster.

Other Arnold relics of scarcely less interest are in the possession of the New Haven Historical Society. Among them is the following petition to the Assembly of Connecticut to authorize the organization of a military company, the first in New Haven and the second in the State, which took part in the War of Independence. This petition is signed by Benedict Arnold and fifty-seven others, among which are the honored names of Nathan Beers, James Hillhouse and Pierpont Edwards. Arnold's signature is in the fairest hand of the lot.

The paper is given spelling and capitals verbatim:

To the HONORABLE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT now sitting at New Haven in New Haven County

The Memorial of us, the subscribers inhabitants of New Haven, many of us independent of any Military Company

Humbly sheweth

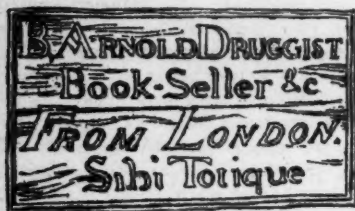
That your memorialists anxious for the safety of their Country and desirous of Contributing all in their power to the support of their just rights and Liberties have formed themselves into a Military Company, have hired a person to instruct them in the Military Art which They are daily practising and have been at much expense in providing a uniform dress. We your Memorialists therefore humbly pray your Honnors to Constitute Them a distinct Military Company by the name of the Governor's Second Company of Life Guards with Power to Choose their Proper Officers to be Commissioned by your Honnors and that They may be under the same Privileges and exemptions as the Military Company in Hartford called the Governor's Guards under such regulations as to your Honnors shall seem meet and Your Memorialists as in duty Bound shall ever pray.

New Haven, March 2, 1775.

There is a current easy fashion of saying that Arnold was unpopular with his neighbors—even distrusted and heartily disliked by them. This may well be doubted. The evidence is the other way, since this company organized in his own neighborhood and authorized by their "Honnors" "to Choose their Proper Officers," proceeded at once to choose Arnold for their Captain. Under him they marched to Cambridge upon receiv-

ing news of the battle of Lexington and thereafter continued in honorable service.

Arnold's career as a country merchant is recalled by the curious sign, which has been preserved with the legend:



Here also may be seen Arnold's mortar and the pestle of white marble. They stand upon a quaint cupboard with a door opening upon three tiers of drawers. It is two feet high, eighteen inches wide and ten inches deep. The hinges of the door, as well as the nails which fasten them, are iron and hand-made. The drawers are of different shapes and sizes, nine in all, and may be pulled out by leather loops nailed on.

But most interesting of all in this collection is a long, narrow book bound in parchment, which its owner called a "Waste Book," but we should call a blotter. On the fly-leaf in a very exact and careful hand is written:

BENEDICT ARNOLD'S  
WASTE BOOK,  
BEGAN MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1773.

The first entry, made on the above date, is as follows:

BRAGANTINE HARRIOT, Dr.

To 24 lbs. beef.

This would seem nowadays scarcely in keeping with the business of a drug and book store. But this is not all, for the list of charges includes oats, rum, meals, knives and forks, towels, table-cloths, "tow-cloath," "worsted hoas," pins, shoes, cordage, and awnings, padlocks and spikes, rudders and bulkheads, gimlets and nails, green tea and brass headed screws—from all which it appears that B. Arnold, Druggist, Bookseller, etc., traded in anything and everything pertaining to the most promiscuous country store.

The price of beef is not stated, but oats were one shilling ten pence per bushel; rum, three shillings six pence per gallon; eight meals, three shillings four pence, or five pence each, which certainly is not expensive living. A dozen knives and forks cost twelve shillings; "worsted hoas," three shilling six pence per pair, and a paper of pins, fifteen shillings, or three dollars and sixty-three cents!

Hannah Arnold appears constantly in these pages. Evidently she was a free buyer, generally traded with her husband, and never paid cash. Fastened to a page with some of those expensive pins with hand-made heads, is a receipted bill of Samuel Goodrich for thirty-two pounds



fifteen shillings for about half a year schooling of Arnold's three boys. Nothing shows that the business changed hands, though the last entry is March 3, 1780.

open grave with a deep feeling of sincere regret and sorrow for the country's loss was a much more patriotic attitude.

\* \* \*

<b>Hamilton's</b> <b>Death and the</b> <b>Duelling</b> <b>Practice.</b>	Apropos of the Hamilton-Burr article in our previous number, one feature of it deserves notice. We have very little notion
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to-day, even in the midst of an impending presidential election, of the exceeding bitterness of party-spirit at the beginning of the present century. But when Hamilton fell, there was a momentary stop to the utterance, perhaps also, the entertaining of it. There was a sudden and spontaneous outburst of grief in every part of the country. Federalist and Republican alike, for the moment, forgot or suppressed their political antagonism. It was forgotten that Hamilton was the Colossus of the Federalists. It was remembered only that to him the young republic owed whatever credit in finance it possessed abroad; and along the lines which he had laid down, glory as well as strength and prosperity were sure to be attained by the nation, and were already incipient. It was the part of true patriotism to regard these national advantages, this common good for all the nation, instead of harping upon party methods and party aims. To stand around this

Great as were Hamilton's services to his day and generation, even in the flagrant "manner of his taking off" he did his country another service. In those anxious days when a presentiment of disaster made him fear that he would be torn from his family, Hamilton put in writing his sentiments with regard to duelling. "My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws." When men read this protest against a practice which yet the writer of it felt bound by public opinion to engage in, that public opinion received a shock which awakened it to a due sense of its enormity; and "the code of honor" henceforth became one of dishonor. Duelling was doomed in New York and the northern states forever.

\* \* \*

**Destruction of  
Memorials  
of Jefferson.**

What time and the corroding air combined with human carelessness do not destroy of our precious historic relics, some ruthless fire may be trusted to annihilate.

Here was youthful and unhistoric

Missouri only lately rejoicing in the guardianship of a most interesting memento of Thomas Jefferson in which the whole country had a profound interest. This was the marble tablet bearing his epitaph and the original modest monument which had been erected at Monticello in literal fulfilment of his specific directions. These are of the greatest interest and include a pen and ink sketch of the shape of the monument. They read as follows:

"Could the dead feel any interest in monuments or other remembrances of them, when, as Anacreon says:

A heap of ashes we shall lie,  
Our bones to dust dissolved—

the following would be to my manes the most gratifying: On the grave a plain die or cube of 3 feet, without any mouldings, surmounted by an obelisk of 6 feet height, each of a single stone; on the faces of the obelisk the following inscription, and not a word more:

HERE WAS BURIED

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN  
INDEPENDENCE,

OF THE STATUTE OF VIRGINIA FOR RELIGIOUS  
FREEDOM,

AND FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF  
VIRGINIA.

because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to be remembered. [It is] to be of the coarse stone of which my columns are made, that no one might be tempted hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials."

The stone proved so coarse that the epitaph could not be inscribed upon it with the chisel, and his grandson, Col. Randolph, had depressions made in the obelisk and a marble tablet inserted, bearing the simple and noble words as written by Jefferson. The efforts to save the monument from mutilation did not prove successful, and it became necessary for the family to remove this tablet from the monument to a place of safety. After Congress in 1882 had decreed a fit memorial, the family were persuaded to part with the tablet, and monument and tablet were afterwards awarded to the Missouri State University at Columbia. It adorned the campus, standing in front of the new chapel of Liberty, which was the pride of the University. In January of this year the cruel flames which consumed the main building of the college, destroyed the tablet beyond restoration. It was a highly prized souvenir of one of the founders of the Republic and the main agent in the great purchase of Louisiana of which Missouri was once a part.

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE PIANO.

WILLIAM STEINWAY.

Latest in the succession of keyed instruments, the piano has been a slow and gradual invention. The "organum," without keys, came into use as an accompaniment to the human voice in the tenth century. Step by step it was improved as a vehicle for musical expression. In the eleventh century, the Pythagorean Monochord—direct precursor of the piano—was revived for use in singing schools to teach religious chorals.

The monochord is described as "an instrument consisting of a long box of thin wood, with a bridge fixed at each end, and an intermediate movable bridge over which is stretched a wire or catgut string." It was an easy step from this contrivance to the clavichord—from a single string to several parallel strings. "Virdung's<sup>1</sup> clavichord," says A. J. Hipkins, "was really a box of monochords." The clavichord is the direct ancestor, as to speak, of the grand piano, a rude sort of keyboard being eventually contrived for striking the strings to

produce the notes. Early in the sixteenth century the clavichord went out of favor in England and the Netherlands, giving place to the less tender and expressive, but more brilliant spinet; but in Germany, the especial home of music, the clavichord held its own even down to the beginning of the present century, only giving place to the modern piano.

The great masters preferred the sweet clavichord to the early crude pianos, as they did, in fact, to every other instrument. It was the chosen vehicle of Johann Sebastian Bach, greatest musician of his day, as also of the other Bach; and Handel, Mozart and Beethoven were partial to it. Beethoven declared that "Among all keyed instruments the clavichord was that on which one could best control tone and expressive interpretation." In this important respect it was the nearest approach to the admirable modern piano. Handel's clavichord, an Italian instrument of 1726, is preserved in the museum at Maidstone, England. The oldest clavichord now known to be in existence is the "Maincordero" [French

<sup>1</sup> Sebastian Virdung, 1511.

*manicorde*, for monochord] d'Eleonora di Montalvo," 1659, in the Kraus Museum at Florence, Italy.

The harp, the psaltery, and the dulcimer were stringed instruments of the Middle Ages analogous to the clavichord. The psaltery "that favourite mediæval stringed instrument," appears to have been the first of the group to receive a keyboard, which happy contrivance the clavichord soon adopted. The keyed psaltery—in the hands of a skilled musician, one of the most exquisite of mediæval instruments—led to the virginal, spinet and harpsichord or clavicymbalo. The virginal was "a parallelogram in shape, with a projecting keyboard and compass of keys the same as the clavichordium." The spinet ("spinetta" or "espinette") "may be described as a small harpsichord or virginal, with one string to each note." The harpsichord is first mentioned (1404) under the name of clavicymbalo. These instruments "were often described as spinets or virginals." These vague and interchangeable definitions of the spinet, virginal and harpsichord, occasioned a confusion of terms even in the days of their popularity.

Thus among the household furniture of Henry VIII, of England, we find some "virginalls" mentioned which it is believed a strict classification would pronounce as really harpsichords. In the expense account of that unsavory monarch occurs this curious entry: "1530 (April). Item

the vj daye paid to William Lewes for i i payer of virginalls in one coffer with i i i i stoppes brought to Grenewiche i i i i And for i i payer of Virginalls in one coffer brought to the More other i i i i li."

And in the inventory, after the King's death, we read. "Two fair pair of new long Virginalls made harp-fashion of Cipres, with keys of ivory, having the King's arms crowned and supported by his Grace's beastes within a garter gilt, standing over the keys."

The principal spinet and harpsichord makers were Andreas Ruckers, Antwerp, 1614; Joanes Antonius Baffo, Venice, 1574; Pascal Taskin, 1786; Annibal Posso, Paris, 1555; in London; Keene, 1685; John Hitchcock, 1630; and Charles Harvard, 1676; and Haxby, of York, 1766. It also appears that "there are some spinets and harpsichords in this country." A "fine spinet made by Harvard, 1684," and a "harpsichord made by John Hitchcock, 1658," are in the Drexel collection at the New York Metropolitan Art Museum. The harpsichord given "to fair Nellie Custis by George Washington" can be seen at Mount Vernon. William Knabe, of Baltimore, and Mr. Sypher, of New York City, possess harpsichords, the latter gentleman owning a beautiful instrument "embellished with a fine painting," Mr. Chickering, of Boston, has both a spinet and a harpsichord.

But the psaltery-harpsichord group of instruments had one serious draw-

back. They were built on the plectrum principle, that is to say, the sounds were produced by leather or quill points arranged to twitch the strings as the keys were touched. But the stroke on the string was in every case necessarily uniform, with no possibility of producing difference in tone by a difference of touch on the keys. But an instrument, similar to this group except in this one particular, was the dulcimer, in use during the Middle Ages. The performer on the dulcimer produced his tones by striking the strings with small leather-tipped hammers held in his hands. In principle, therefore, if not in form or appearance, the dulcimer was the truest prototype of the piano among stringed instruments.

Near the end of the seventeenth century, Pantaleon Hebenstreit, a famous German dulcimer artist, had a very large and double dulcimer constructed. It possessed two sound boards, and double sets of strings. It was the nearest approach to the piano in its possibilities. In 1705 Hebenstreit visited Paris, and Louis XIV. gave the double dulcimer the name of "Pantaleon" in honor of its inventor. Ch. G. Schröter (1763) claimed that it was Hebenstreit's Pantaleon which first set him the problem of inventing the piano. The problem was to construct an instrument which through the agency of keys should make possible the same effects which Hebenstreit produced with his hammers. But

Schröter's pretensions just here require some investigation.

Gottfried Silbermann, an organ builder, was once universally regarded as the inventor of the piano. In 1763, ten years after Silbermann's death, Schröter put in his claim to the honor, and offered drawings and documents as proofs. Researches in recent years discover that neither of these men, but an Italian, was the first maker of the modern instrument.

Bartolommeo Cristofori, "the man of genius who invented and produced the pianoforte," was a harpsichord maker, born in Padua, May 4, 1653. Cristofori solved the puzzle of putting "hammers to a harpsichord." Not only did he contrive a mechanism whereby hammer heads should strike the strings upon the depression of a key board, but he regulated the fall of the hammers by a system of checks, so that the force of the blow should depend upon the touch of the key. Here, indeed, was the complete principle of the piano.

The first mention of Cristofori's invention occurs in a Venetian newspaper of 1711, announcing the construction of a "Clavicymbalo with piano and forte"—before believed impossible. It was announced that "Bartolommeo Cristofali" (his name is spelled variously), had made three grand pianos, and the fact was emphasized that "it depended upon the strength with which the player touched the key to produce a weaker or stronger tone, with all its gradations."



But the best evidence which we have of Cristofori's work are two of his instruments, made in 1720 and 1726 respectively, (he died in 1731), which are still preserved in Florence. The one in the Kraus Museum (1726) shows the original leather hammer-heads, and the checks used to regulate the blow from the keyboard. "After this discovery of the actual instruments of Cristofori," says A. J. Hipkins, "There can be no longer doubt as to the attribution of the invention to him in its initiation and its practical completion with escapement and check. To Cristofori we are indebted not only for the power of playing *piano* and *forte*, but for the infinite variations of tone, or *nuances*, which render the instrument so delightful."

The name "pianoforte," which Cristofori gave to his instrument, has endured ever since. While we would not in the least detract from Cristofori any of the honor due him for having completely solved the seemingly impossible; yet we may credit Silbermann with such practical improvements of the new instrument as to bring it into popular use, so that, in the words of Agricola," he is not much less than the inventor thereof."

As to the pretensions of Schröter, the Nordhausen organist, it is difficult to put much faith in them. In 1763, undertaking to combat the claim made for Silbermann, then the accredited inventor of the piano, Schrö-

ter-declared that he had produced an instrument in 1717; and that in 1721 he submitted two models to the court in Dresden, was unable to get them returned to him, and presently had the mortification of seeing his invention bruited about Germany as Silbermann's discovery. But unfortunately for Schröter he wasted his strength upon a straw man. He thought he had but to destroy Silbermann's claim to establish his own pretensions, and all unconscious of the Italian Cristofori, doubtless never dreamed that after all his care, the ghost of the latter would arise to snatch the glory from both himself and Silbermann. Schröter did not even claim his invention to have been prior to 1717; whereas we know that as early as 1711 Cristofori had constructed three grand pianos.

As a matter of fact and history, the account of Cristofori's invention, published in 1711 by an Italian musician, Marchese Scipione Maffei di Verona, was translated into German in 1725, by König, court poet at Dresden, and the personal friend of Silbermann. With this account to guide him Silbermann set to work, and it seems highly probable that Schröter was either indebted to Silbermann, in turn, or else derived his information from the same source—the German translation of Marchese Maffei. But curiously enough, even should we eliminate both Cristofori and Silbermann, Schröter's claim would still remain unproved, for Marius, in 1716,

submitted to the Royal Academy of Paris descriptions and models of four different pianos. Whether Marius is to be credited with an independent invention, or whether he was benefited by some knowledge of Cristofori's instrument, it is difficult to say; but we will not be far amiss to pronounce Schröter's invention an afterthought.

Following Silbermann, Charles E. Friederici of Gera (died 1779), Johann Andreas Stein of Augsburg (died 1792), and John Adam Spath of Regensburg (died 1792), were famous pioneer makers of pianos. Yet notwithstanding that J. S. Bach in 1737, and Mozart in 1777, had praised the piano and used the new instrument, the clavichord for a long time retained its popularity.

The Stein family were remarkable piano makers and some of them were excellent musicians. Their instruments were favorites with Mozart and Beethoven. Besides the father, Johann Andreas, there were two sons, Matthäus Andreas and Friedrich, and a daughter, Maria Anna, or Nanette. Upon the death of the senior Stein, his oldest son Matthäus and Nanette carried on the business together until 1793, when the young woman married Johann Andreas Streicher, a Stuttgart musician and teacher. They removed to Vienna and started a separate manufactory. Mrs. Streicher was the personal friend of Beethoven, and she and her husband in the latter years of the great

musician constantly administered to his comfort. Concerning her skill as a piano maker, we have this tribute from Beethoven in a letter to Mrs. Streicher: "Perhaps you do not know, though I have not always had one of your pianos, that since 1809 I have invariably preferred yours."

The London Bach — Johann Christian — was one of the first musicians to use a piano in England. According to Burney the first piano, or "hammer harpsichord," brought to England, was made in Rome by a monk named Father Wood, for an English gentleman, Samuel Crisp of Chesington. From Crisp, Fuller Greville bought the instrument for one hundred guineas. It had no companion in all the realm until Plenius in 1745, constructed a second piano modeled upon the first. The arrival of Johann Christian Bach in London in 1759, led some London string instrument makers to attempt to build pianos. But the instruments turned out were poor affairs, not omitting those of Americus Backers, a Dutchman, who at least had the satisfaction of doing a little better than his neighbors. But the piano remained a unique and unaccustomed instrument even in London, up to 1767, as we learn from the following announcement on a theatre programme, dated May 16, of that year; "End of Act I — Miss Brickler will sing a favorite song from 'Judith,' accompanied by Mr. Dibdin on a new instrument called piano."

Later on the London makers, Stodart and John Broadwood (especially the latter), so materially re-arranged and improved the piano as to gain the style of "English action" applied to instruments modeled after their pattern. Broadwood fairly "reconstructed the square piano," and then turned his attention to the grand.

Meanwhile a new school of makers had been established in Paris by Sebastian Erhard or Erard, who hailed from Strasburg in 1768, and was afterwards joined in Paris by his brother, Johann Baptist Erard. They built a factory, and their fame soon filled the French Capital. But Sebastian Erard's most signal achievement was the invention of his hammer mechanism with double repeating action, which has since been almost universally adopted in concert grand pianos.

America has been one of the most active centers of piano making, and this branch of our theme is deserving of a chapter by itself. But it is doubtful if we can claim a distinctive school prior to 1855, when the firm of Steinway & Sons of New York, successfully produced an overstrung scale with the American iron frame in a square piano, for which they received the gold medal at the American Institute Fair, Crystal Palace, New York. Previous to this time no combination had been effected of the nicest sensitiveness and delicacy with great power and volume of tone, suffi-

cient for rendering such diverse masters as Schumann and Liszt. But by the Steinway invention instruments were constructed "on an entirely new system," which were "capable of serving the performer as a musical instrument to express truthfully—the dreamy ballads of a Chopin, to bring into life the poetical strains of Schumann, and to withstand—in regard to their solidity of construction—the marvelous fancies of Liszt."

Having applied their invention successfully to grand pianos in 1862, the Steinways exhibited their invention at the London World's Exposition. They received first awards, while their pianos created a furore in the musical world.

Since that time American makers have retained their lead and superiority as manufacturers and inventors and pattern-setters for the world. "Thus in late years," says the *Musical Courier* of New York, "by the inventive genius of three or four first-class American piano manufacturers—but especially by the production of the house of Steinway & Sons—have American pianos become and are conceded to be the standard of perfection and the models from which the civilized world copies." Many more important inventions, both in grand and upright pianos, have been made since that time by Steinway & Sons and several other firms, which improvements are readily adopted by the European makers, especially by those of Ger-

many, which next to the United States of America, is the largest piano producing country in the world.

Among American piano manufacturers, as indeed among the piano makers of the world, the House of Steinway & Sons, of New York, has long had a pre-eminent position. The original firm consisted of Henry Englehard Steinway and his four sons, Theodore, Charles, Henry, jr., and William. The father had been a successful piano maker in Brunswick, Germany, and some of his older sons, especially Theodore, were associated with him in business. The cordon of custom houses hemming in Brunswick on every side, the compulsory military system of Germany, and other considerations induced the Steinways to remove to America. They reached New York, June 9th, 1850, William, the fourth son and sixth child, being then fourteen years of age. Theodore, the eldest son, aged twenty-five years, remained in Germany until 1865, carrying on the European branch of the business, for his own account.

Mr. Henry C. Steinway and his sons did not immediately organize an establishment, but secured positions as workmen in various piano factories in this country, in order to make a careful and practical study of the language, customs and different methods of American manufacture. The remarkable success and important inventions of the Steinways undoubtedly have been largely due to this

thoroughness of preparation and practical mastery of all the details of their business. Already experts in the methods of the European system, they devoted three years of hard work to familiarizing themselves with the peculiarities of the system of piano-making prevalent in the United States. This double mastery of the subject resulted, a few years later, in the Steinway piano, the revolutionary invention combining the sweetness and delicacy of tone of the best European instruments with the strength, durability, and capacity for great power and volume provided by means of the American metal frame.

On the 5th day of March, 1853, (William's seventeenth birthday), Mr. Henry C. Steinway and his three sons in America, Charles, Henry and William, having resigned their various positions as workmen, organized the house of Steinway & Sons. After the death of Charles and Henry, Jr., in March, 1865, Mr. Theodore Steinway gave up his flourishing business in Brunswick, came to America October, 1865, and joined the firm, and Albert, the youngest son, also entered the business. It is impossible in this brief sketch to trace the phenomenal growth, or describe the various inventions and contrivances which originated in this establishment. As early as 1854, at the Metropolitan

Fair at Washington, D. C., they scored the victory over the other contesting manufacturers, and also secured many first honors at various American fairs thereafter. At the London Crystal Palace World's Fair in 1862, and the Paris International Exposition in 1867, they achieved signal triumphs over every competitor in Europe and America, and secured for their house immediate recognition throughout the civilized world. The highest honors from the most distinguished sources were conferred upon them. The brothers Theodore and William, in 1867, were elected honorary members of the Royal Academy of Berlin, while the King of Sweden presented them with the gold medal of the State in 1868.

The phenomenal success of this great house was the result of the joint contribution of industry and genius on the part of the father, and each one of the sons. It is difficult to estimate the exact contribution of each, and it is certain that the same degree of success could not have been achieved with the elimination of any factor. Yet while not losing sight of the part played by Henry Englehard Steinway, a most remarkable man, and the sons, Charles, Henry and Albert, it remains true that the careers of the brothers, Theodore and William, have a special interest and signification for us. The inventive faculty, which more or less characterized all the family, had its most remarkable development in Theodore.

While the enterprise and genius for business management, which all possessed to a considerable extent, was in an unusual degree, the peculiar talent and power of William. As his genius in this direction became evident, the enormous and all important task of conducting the mercantile business and financial affairs of the house was shifted upon his shoulders, and as a result the house of Steinway & Sons, is to-day one of the most extensive and representative business concerns in the city of New York, and conceded to be by far the largest piano manufacturing establishment in the world.

That Mr. William Steinway is everywhere recognized as the chief factor in this great business success is attested by the fact that his influence in financial affairs is recognized and has been sought in other and outside directions. He has been for nearly thirty years a trustee and vice-president of the German Savings Bank, one of the soundest banking institutions of New York. He was one of the founders of the Bank of the Metropolis in 1871, and has been a director ever since. He is vice-president of the Queen's County Bank, and holds the same office in the State Trust Company, while he is interested in and officially connected with various other financial institutions. In 1889 he was appointed by Mayor Grant a member of the committee of one hundred representative citizens of New York to control the affairs of



the World's Fair, should the Metropolis be chosen as its site; and he was elected to the sub-committee of finance. President Cleveland offered to him the sub-treasuryship of New York, but stress of business did not permit him to accept office. In April, 1890, he was appointed by Mayor Grant a member of the Rapid Transit Commission, together with August Belmont, John H. Starin, Orlando B. Potter and Woodbury Langdon.

In January, 1891, a new Rapid Transit Act was passed by the State Legislature, the appointments by Mayor Grant under its provisions, and unanimously confirmed by the Legislature being William Steinway, John H. Starin, Samuel Spencer, John H. Inman and Eugene L. Bushe. Mr. Steinway was unanimously elected President of the Commission, and with the genius and ability of these gentlemen centered upon the subject, the difficult problem of adequate Rapid Transit is nearing the point of solution.

Mr. William Steinway is to-day the sole surviving representative of the original house of Steinway & Sons. His brothers, Charles and Henry died in 1865, his father in 1871, his brother Albert in 1877, and his brother Theodore in 1889. From time to time the younger members of the family—sons of the brothers, and grandsons of Henry Englehard Steinway—have been admitted to the firm, so that it is at present as strong in every department as at any time in its his-

tory. These younger members have emulated the example of their fathers in acquiring a thorough mastery of the details of their business. Nearly forty patents have been issued to cover the peculiar improvements in piano manufacture devised by the Steinways, and if one may venture to forecast the future, it appears altogether probable that this house will continue to lead the world in the progressive development of their great and increasingly important industry.

In this connection one cannot well withstand the temptation to pause and consider the great influence this remarkable family has exerted in the encouragement of musical endeavor in America. Steinway Hall may truthfully be described as having been for years the centre of the musical interests of the New World. Its historic walls have echoed the performances of the great artists from Rubenstein down, and the sweet strains of Patti and Nilson have filled it with the most exquisite melody. It was the cordial support and help of the Steinways, especially of William Steinway, which sustained Theodore Thomas in the dark days when he failed of appreciation and patronage, and but for the same generous spirit and enterprise, many of the greatest foreign artists who have delighted Americans would never have touched upon our shores.

Mr. William Steinway has also been a liberal patron of other departments of art and education. For many

years he has been President of the German Liederkrantz, the oldest musical organization in America. He is a member of the German Legal Aid Society and of the German Society for emigrants. He has permanently endowed the German Hospital, and in 1889 was President of the phenomenal fair for the hospital whereby with an expenditure of \$6,000, more than \$118,000 was realized. The welfare of the families of the firm's employees is carefully considered by Mr. Steinway, and in connection with the extensive piano manufacture at "Steinway," Long Island City, model houses for the employees have been erected, with every improvement and convenience. In 1877 a public school, accommodating one thousand children, was erected, where the best teachers are retained at the expense of the firm to give free instruction in German and music. In 1881 a fine bath for the employees was erected on the shore of the East River, and a park laid out, and in 1890, a fine Union Protestant Church was erected, an excellent kindergarten established, and the Steinway Free Circulating Library organized and permanently endowed.

These numerous benevolent enterprises, and his great business interests have fully occupied Mr. Steinway's attention and led him to refuse all offers of political preferment.

He was, however, one of the "Committee of Seventy" which in 1871 accomplished such sweeping reforms in the local government of New York. Again in October, 1886, he presided at the great meeting of citizens at Cooper Union Institute who nominated Mayor Hewitt, and was largely instrumental in the election of the latter. In 1888 he was unanimously elected the member for the State of New York of the National Democratic Committee.

He is at present (elected February 22, 1892) presidential elector at large for New York State, with Erastus Corning, to attend the coming National Democratic Convention. The Mayoralty of New York has been twice offered to him. In 1888 his election was assured, both factions of the Democracy proposing to nominate him for the sake of harmony. But he resolutely refused. In 1889 the Democratic nomination of Secretary of the State of New York was offered him and refused. This policy of refusal of political honors has been resolutely maintained by him under a sense of duty, to the present time, that he might devote his energies in less ostentatious, but more necessary directions.

Mr. William Steinway possesses that rare accomplishment of being a ready and happy speaker — in either the German or the English language.

JULIUS HOFFMAN.

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The Century Publishing & Engraving Co. Chicago

*John B. Turner*

## CHICAGO PIONEERS.

## JNO. BICE-TURNER.

JOHN BICE TURNER became a citizen of Chicago in 1843, and was in at the birth of Western railway enterprise. An experienced builder of railroads and other public works when he came to Chicago, he became a promotor of, and one of the most important factors in building up what has since become one of the great railroad systems of the Northwest.

Mr. Turner was born in Colchester, Delaware County, New York, January 14th, 1799, and died in Chicago, February 26th, 1871. His father died when he was two years old, and his mother when he was fourteen, so that he was left an orphan while still a mere lad. Several years prior to his mother's death, however, he had been taken into the family of a New York State farmer named Powers. Mr. Powers operated a tannery in connection with his farm, and his adopted son divided his time between these two enterprises, comparatively little opportunity being given him for securing an education. He, however, made the best use of the time at his disposal, and by dint of persistent effort managed to acquire

the kind of knowledge most essential to a successful business career.

In 1819 he married Miss Mattie Valentine, of Malta, Saratoga County, New York, settled on a farm, and for a time gave his attention mainly to agricultural pursuits. At the end of five years he sold the farm, or rather his interest in it, and purchased a planing-mill, which he operated in connection with a distillery and general store at Maltaville, New York. For a time he met with flattering success, and accumulated money somewhat rapidly in this business, but at the end of half a dozen years he met with reverses which left him practically bankrupt. He was not, however, without resources, and in 1835 he entered into a contract to build seven miles of the Ransom & Saratoga Railroad, which had been projected, and the construction of which was under way. After completing this work according to contract, he took charge of the line as manager, and this being one of the primitive railroads on which horses supplied the motive power, he built barns at intervals of ten miles along the line for their accommodation.



While he had charge of this road he put into service "The Champlain," a five-ton locomotive, famous as the second of its kind to run on a Northern railroad.

In November of 1835 Mr. Turner, in connection with other gentlemen, whom he had associated with him as contractor, broke ground for the New York & Erie Railway, but the financial crash of 1837 made a suspension of operations necessary, and left him and his partners stranded and practically ruined in a business way. After a time the enterprise was again gotten under way, and he received compensation for work done on the line, sufficient to give him fair operating capital.

His next important undertaking was the construction of the Genesee Valley Canal, in which his brother-in-law, John Vernam, was a partner. In 1840 the State suspended work on this Canal, and again all Mr. Turner's plans were upset, and his business demoralized. After delays which caused serious embarrassment work was resumed, and that portion of the Canal which he had under contract was completed. He also built a section of the Troy & Schenectady Railroad, and the spring of 1843 found him again in comfortable circumstances—the result of his public works contracts. He then visited Illinois and other Western States, accompanied by his wife, and embraced the opportunity afforded him of learning something of the resources

and prospects of the West. His explorations of the country were thorough, and his conclusions were those of the far-seeing and sagacious business man. Believing that Chicago, as the trade center of a vast and remarkably productive region, would become a city of consequence before many years should elapse, he determined to locate here, where his keen perceptions, his enterprise, and his practical knowledge of railroad building made him an especially valuable citizen of the community just at that time. His residence in Chicago began in the fall of 1843 as a guest of the Tremont House, kept then by Ira Couch, famous among the pioneer landlords of the Northwest. His first investment was in a farm of one hundred acres, lying north of Blue Island, which he stocked with a flock of sheep brought from Ohio. After a time he became active among the business men of Chicago in his advocacy of building a railroad to what was known as the Fox River country, then a prosperous and rapidly improving agricultural district. As early as 1837, the building of a line of railroad between Chicago and Fox River had been gotten under way, but funds soon gave out and it was abandoned. In 1847 Wm. B. Ogden and John B. Turner resuscitated this enterprise, and it was largely as a result of their efforts that the road was pushed to completion. Mr. Ogden was elected first President of the company, with Mr. Turner as Man-

aging Director. A survey of the line was made, and Messrs. Ogden and Turner traveled over the route soliciting subscriptions to aid in the building of the road. The land owners and farmers came to their assistance, and although the work of construction progressed slowly, the pioneer railroad of northern Illinois gradually approached completion. In 1850 the road had been completed to a point beyond Elgin, and Mr. Turner then became President of the company. Under his management it was completed to Freeport within the next two years, and was operated as the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, its length being something over one hundred miles. During his administration the company also built the "Dixon Air Line" to Fulton, Illinois, and constructed a line, part of the way across the State of Iowa.

In 1853 he had also organized the Beloit & Madison Railroad. In 1858 he resigned the presidency of the railway company, which he had held for eight years, but continued to be actively identified with railway interests and railway management up to the time of his death in 1871. When the Galena & Chicago Union was consolidated with the Chicago & Northwestern lines of railroad in 1864, Mr. Turner was made chairman of the managing committee of the consolidated roads, and subsequently served continuously as a director and member of the executive committee.

Not only was he recognized as one

of the chief promoters and builders of one of the great railroad systems of the United States, but he was regarded as a railroad manager of superior ability and high character. During the war of the rebellion, while General John C. Fremont had command of the Union forces in Missouri, he charged the railroad companies with swindling the government in the transportation of troops, supplies, etc. In order to ascertain the true status of affairs, Mr. Turner was directed to make an investigation under government authority, and his investigation and report were so complete and satisfactory that the commissioners appointed to look into the matter adopted it and transmitted it to the authorities at Washington without change. Through his realty investments and railway interests he amassed a large fortune, as a natural result of the general development and growth of the City of Chicago, and its tributary country, to which he himself contributed in no small degree. His death, occurring in the prime of his early old age, removed a conspicuous figure from among Western railway men and pioneers. The esteem in which he was held among those who had been associated with him officially, and in the conduct of railway affairs, was fittingly expressed by General Manager Dunlap, of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, who announced that the general offices and shops of the company would be closed on the day of the

funeral, in token of respect to the memory of "this judicious and faithful counselor, genial companion, constant friend and christian gentleman. His devotion to the material interests

of the country was excelled only by the patriotism which never lost sight of the highest duties of citizenship. His great work lives after him, and will keep his memory green forever."

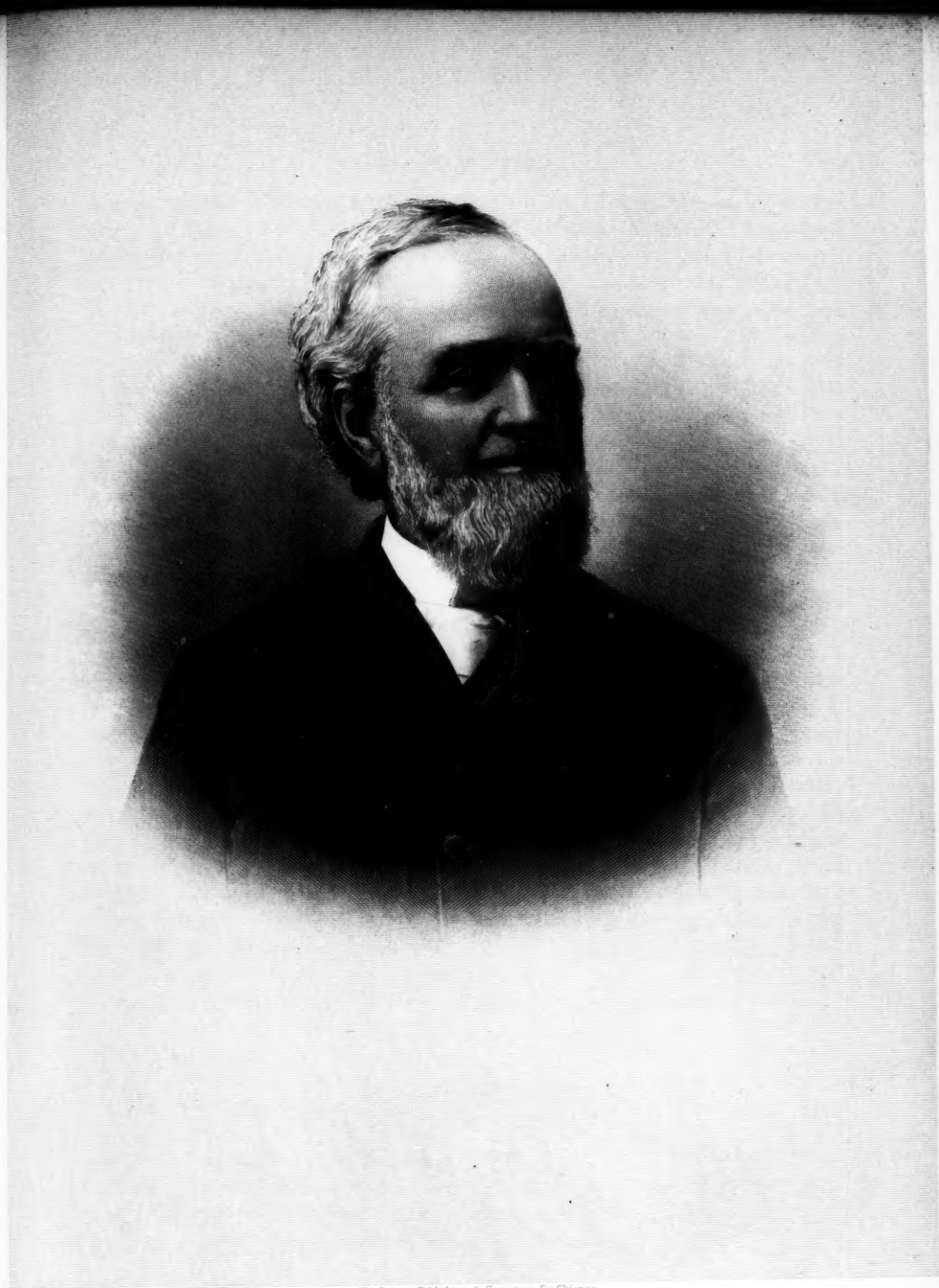
#### VALENTINE C. TURNER.

LIKE his father John B. Turner the noted railway builder and manager, Valentine C. Turner became identified with Chicago during the second decade of its existence. He was born in Malta, Saratoga County, New York, February 25th, 1823, and partially grew up there. After receiving the ordinary preliminary education, he was fitted for college at the academies of Troy and Oxford in New York, and at the same time received a fair share of practical business training at the office of his father, then engaged in the construction of the Erie Railroad and the Genesee Canal. After leaving the academy he went to Williams College, of Williamstown, Massachusetts, from which he graduated in 1846.

Meantime his father had completed his public works contracts in New York State, and had established himself in Chicago, and immediately after his graduation the son joined him. In the fall of the same year he opened a law office in Chicago, and continued in the practice of his profession twelve years. In February of 1859 he joined with his father and

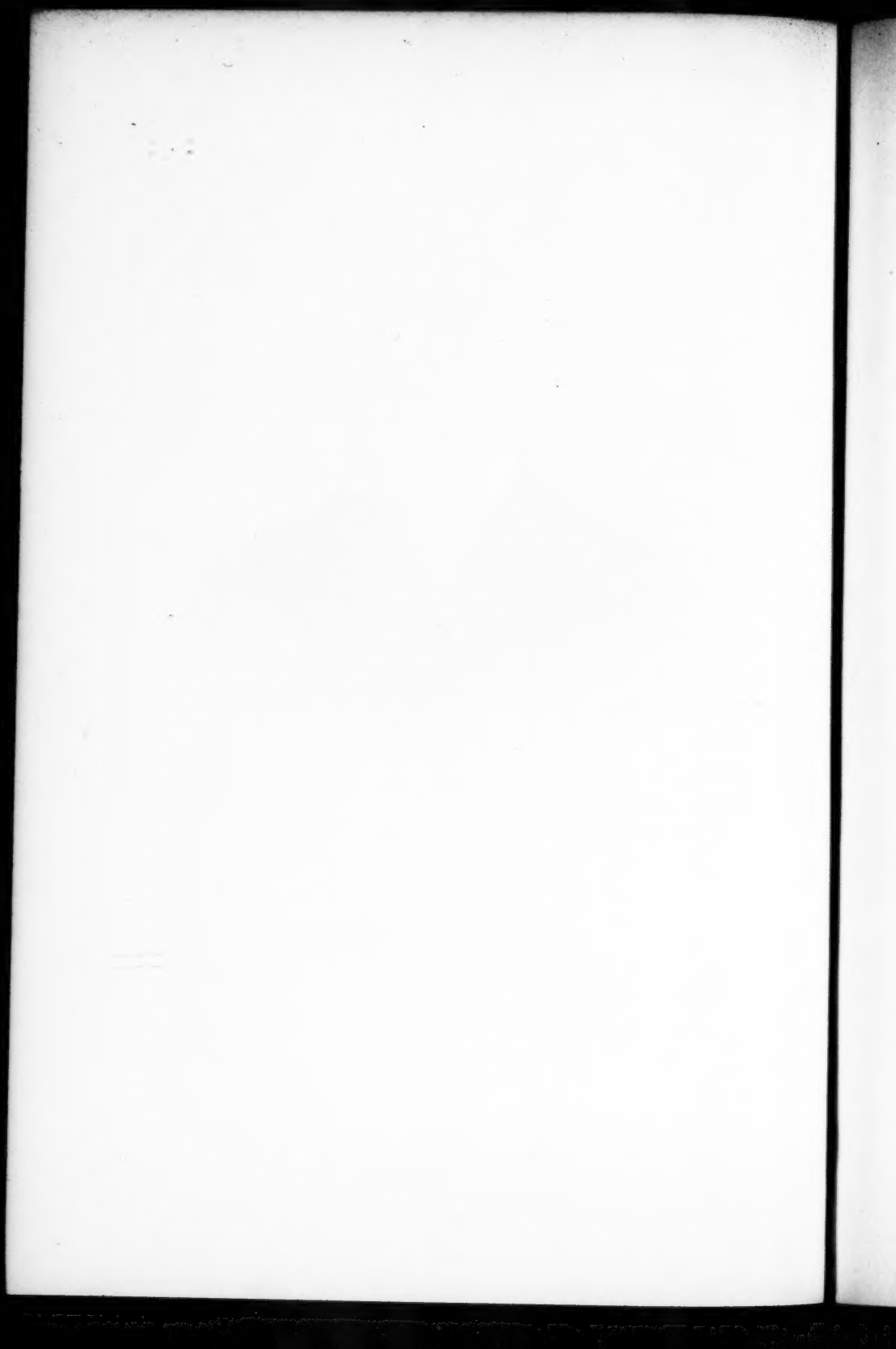
other gentlemen in inaugurating the North Chicago City Railway Company. A charter was procured for the construction of a horse railway, and Mr. Turner was appointed secretary and treasurer upon the organization of the company, and continued to act in this capacity until July of 1865, when he was made vice president. In 1867 he was elected president of the corporation, and retained this position until a few years since, when the road was sold to a syndicate of Eastern capitalists, of which Charles T. Yerkes became president and general manager.

Mr. Turner turned over to this corporation a valuable property, which had been built up under his management, and which has since been expanded into one of the great street railway systems of the country. The rapid growth of the city and its extension along the north shore of Lake Michigan have made necessary the substitution of the cable system for the horse car lines, which seemed to answer every purpose a few years since, and with the main cable system, horse and electric lines form connect-



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*V. C. Turner*





ions radiating to all portions of the northern division of the city. Since his retirement from the presidency of the Street Railway Company, Mr. Turner has not engaged actively in any business, but has given himself up to the enjoyment of his ample fortune. Much of his time has been spent in travel, and in the course of his travels—both in this country and abroad—he has been a discriminating collector of works of art, and curios of all kinds.

His home, one of the noted residences on the famous Lake Shore Drive of Chicago, is always regarded as a most hospitable mansion, notwithstanding the studious habits and quiet disposition of the owner.

An enthusiastic sportsman, he is now president of the Pelee Club, composed of sportsmen resident in Chicago and New York, of high social and business standing. Of this club the late General Phil. Sheridan was a conspicuous member, and among present well known members are Judge Walter Q. Gresham, George M. Pullman, Col. J. Russell Jones, and

other prominent citizens of Chicago. On a Canadian island in Lake Erie, opposite Sandusky, Ohio, the association has a magnificent club house, erected at a cost of \$100,000. The island belongs to the club, and in May and October of each year members meet there to enjoy the fishing season and the pleasures of social reunion.

A Democrat in politics, Mr. Turner has only now and then taken anything more than the interest which all good citizens take in public affairs. In the presidential campaign of 1876 he was an ardent supporter of Samuel J. Tilden, and put forth unusual efforts to secure his election, aiding actively in the organization of his party in Illinois and elsewhere.

While he was recognized during the early years of his residence in Chicago as a capable and successful lawyer, he has been better known as one of the careful, conservative, and able business men of Chicago, whose strict integrity and high character have never been questioned.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.



## HORATIO O. STONE.

ONE of the noted pioneers of Chicago, long identified with the city, the builder of a handsome fortune, and a conspicuous figure among self-made western men, was H. O. Stone, who came to Illinois in 1834, settled in Chicago and was actively engaged in business here up to the time of his death in 1877.

Mr. Stone was born in Boughton Hill, Ontario—now Monroe County—New York, January 2nd, 1811. His father, Ebenezer Stone, was one of the early settlers of western New York, who served as a soldier in the war of 1812, and was an active participant in much of the warfare with Indians, which was a prominent feature of pioneer life in that region.

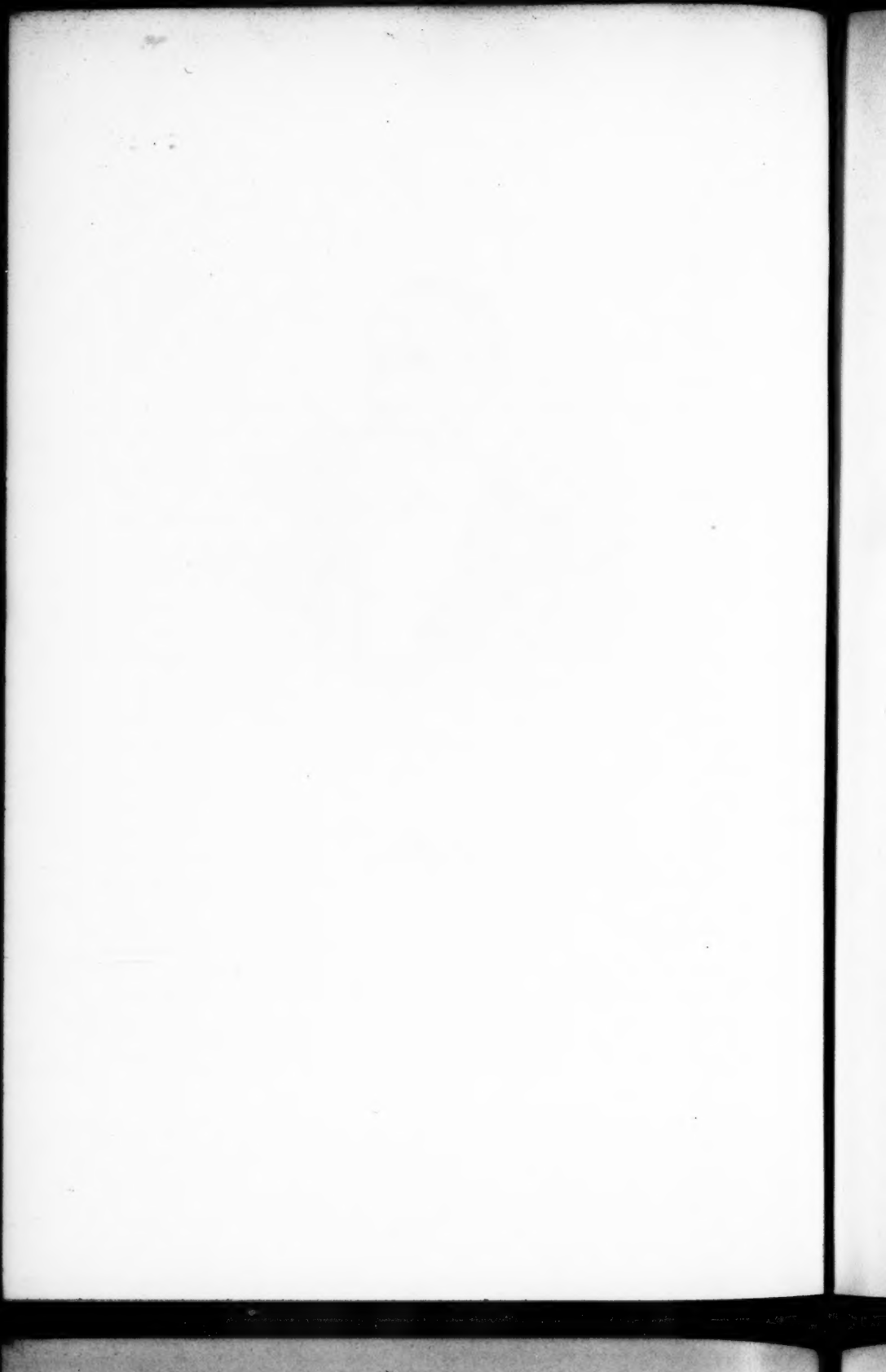
He married Clarissa Odell, who died leaving H. O. Stone, an infant six weeks old. Deprived of a mother's tender care and sympathy, the boy grew up to form an early acquaintance with the burdens and duties of life. His father was a farmer, and the tasks allotted to him, as soon as he became old enough to make himself useful, were of a character which left him little time for recreation or indulgence in boyish pastimes. He attended the country schools a portion of each year until

he was fourteen years of age, when he was apprenticed to a shoemaker. He served three years in this apprenticeship, learning at the same time, something of the trade of tanner and currier. Not being satisfied to follow this calling, when he was seventeen years old he started out through the country as an itinerant merchant, with a stock of goods, which he carried in a tin box. This boyish venture was not successful, and at the end of a year he sought other employment for his time and talent.

Working his way down the Onondaga River, on a raft of lumber to Chenango Forks, he made his way from there to Honesdale, Pennsylvania. There his capability and businesslike methods of doing things were recognized by his appointment as overseer of a gang of laborers on the Lackawanna Canal. After this he spent a year boating on the Erie Canal, and what he saw and heard during these years led him to the conclusion that in the West was the place for him to seek a permanent location. Filled with this idea he journeyed to Michigan, where he visited a brother who had preceded him to that territory. There he "entered" eighty acres of government



*H. O. Stone*



land, in the town of Clinton, Washtenaw County, settled on it and began farming. When the Blackhawk War broke out, he was called into military service, and under command of General Jacob Brown marched to Niles, Michigan. There news of the capture of the famous Indian chief was received, and the troops disbanded, Mr. Stone returning to his farm at the end of twenty-two days absence.

In 1833 he married Miss Jane A. Lowry, of Erie, Pennsylvania, who shared with him the hardships of pioneer life until 1835 when he sold his Michigan farm. He then sent his family to Erie, while he himself proceeded to Chicago, which had attracted his attention, and which he thought was at least worthy of a visit. He arrived in Chicago at the end of a tedious journey in midwinter of 1834-5. He stopped at the old Saugenash Hotel, kept by Mark Beaubien, and after looking about the town for a few days, determined to locate here, notwithstanding its uninviting aspect. John Dean Caton, afterward Chief Justice of Illinois, was then a young lawyer and Justice of the Peace in Chicago. Mr. Stone dropped into Caton's court one day, and while there gave a practical demonstration of his faith in the future of Chicago, by purchasing from one of the habitués of the office a "town lot" on Clinton street, for which he paid \$90.00. Two-thirds of all the money he had went into this real

estate venture. Then he looked about for work and found employment, chopping timber for the harbor piers on the north branch of the river near Chicago, for which he was paid at the rate of sixteen dollars per month. Notwithstanding the smallness of his wages, he laid aside something during the winter, and the following spring, accompanied by a friend, he went into Wisconsin on a prospecting trip. On this trip, which lasted, from first to last, three months, he thoroughly familiarized himself with that portion of the Northwest then attracting the most attention. At Sheboygan, Wisconsin, he filed a claim on eighty acres of land near the mouth of the river, and then went to work in a saw-mill. In June he came back to Chicago, attending the first public sale of government lands in the city. He discovered upon his return that Chicago realty was in great demand, and the lot for which he paid ninety dollars was sold in a short time for three hundred and forty-eight dollars. The sale of this lot, and the profit realized therefrom, gave him some capital to operate upon, and he opened a grocery store.

This was the beginning of his career as a merchant, and for twenty-seven years thereafter he was prominently identified with the trade in Chicago. During a portion of this time he was also one of the extensive dealers in grain of all kinds, and shipped the first cargo of wheat sent out from Chicago, the grain being



carried aboard the vessel in which it was to be shipped, in sacks.

While merchandising, he also gave a large share of his attention to real estate operations, and became the owner of several large tracts of land in the city, which he sub-divided and sold at handsome profits. A remarkably good judge of lands and land values naturally, the merchant soon developed into one of the most sagacious investors in and handlers of real estate in Chicago, and at a later date, he gave to this business his entire time and attention. For nearly thirty years he was conspicuously

active in this branch of business, contributing in numerous ways to the upbuilding of the city. The firm which he established—one of the oldest of its kind in the city—is still known as the firm of H. O. Stone & Co., although Mr. Stone died July 20th, 1871, his son who bears the same name, having succeeded him in the business.

The widow of Mr. Stone still resides in Chicago, and the family is one of the most widely known of the old families of the city.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

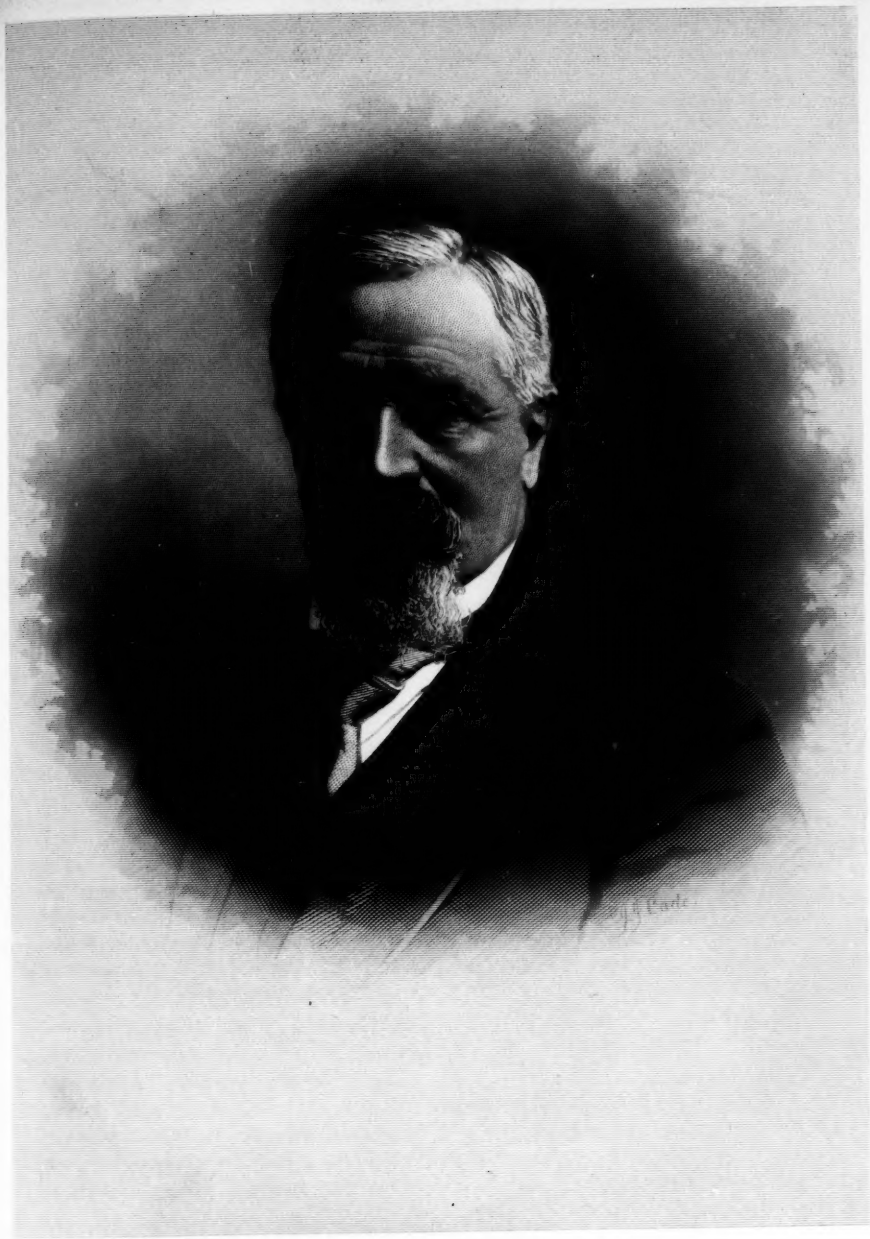
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### SOUTHERN MEN IN CHICAGO.

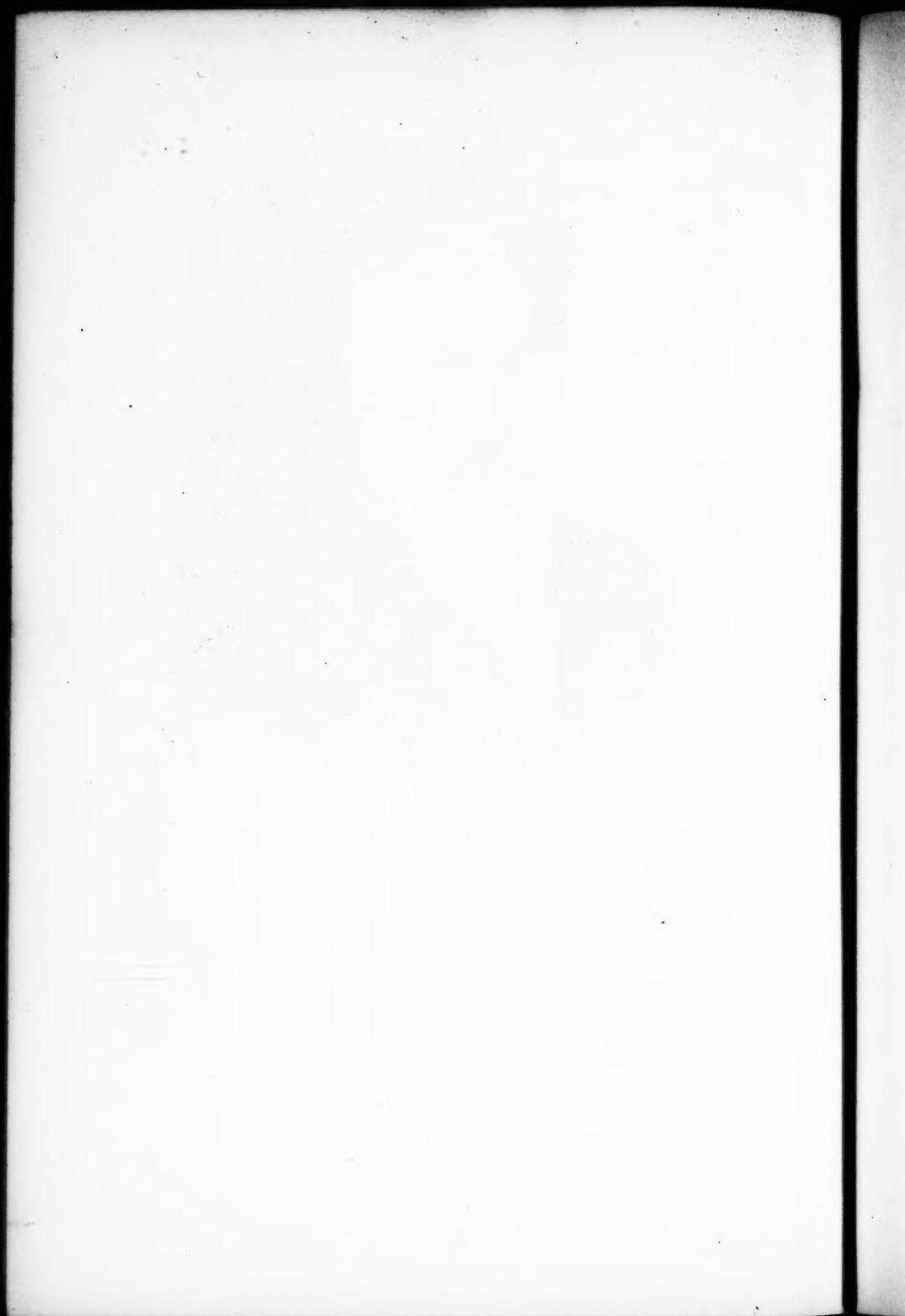
HENRY H. HONORÉ.

JEAN ANTOINE HONORÉ, grandfather of Henry H. Honoré, who has acquired distinction among the men most actively identified with the building up of Chicago—was a Parisian by birth, and came of a family well-known in the French metropolis. Being a younger son he was educated for the priesthood, as is often the case, but he felt that he had no inclination to follow that vocation. He was a man of culture and very liberal views, and like many of the young Frenchmen of his time was inspired with an ardent enthusiasm for the newly established American Republic, in whose struggles for independ-

ence, which he had watched with the greatest interest during his college days, LaFayette and many other personal friends had taken a gallant part. Upon coming of age, therefore, he turned his back upon his own country, and became one of the group of Frenchmen who exerted so potent an influence in the early days of the Republic. He brought with him his patrimony, which was considerable, and became a resident of the City of Baltimore, where for many years he was a conspicuous citizen. In 1806, having reached the conclusion that Louisville, Kentucky—on account of its favorable location at the Falls of



*H. H. Rade*



the Ohio River—was likely to become one of the chief cities of the West, he removed from Baltimore to that city. There he invested in various enterprises, and became greatly interested in the development of the resources of the rich country tributary to the Mississippi River. He was the owner of one of the first steamboats which made the trip from Louisville to New Orleans. For many years he was recognized as one of the leading merchants of the southwest, a shrewd man of affairs, scarcely less noted for his courtliness of manner than for his business sagacity. He died in Louisville, in 1843, leaving a son Francis Honoré, who was born in Baltimore in 1792, but who grew to manhood and spent the greater portion of his life in Kentucky.

Having a comfortable fortune and less taste for affairs, Francis Honoré engaged much less actively in business than his father had done, and much of the time he lived at his country place in the interior of the state. He married Matilda Lockwood, a notably beautiful young southern woman—daughter of Captain Benjamin Lockwood, of the United States Army. In this connection it may be of interest to note the fact that Mrs. Honoré's mother, after the death of Captain Lockwood, became the wife of John Cleves Symes, also a Captain in the United States Army, and a man widely known for his scientific attainments.

One of the sons of Francis and

Matilda (Lockwood) Honoré is Henry Hamilton Honoré, who removed from Louisville to Chicago in 1855 to become recognized within a few years thereafter, as one of the most active among the builders of the great western metropolis, and one of its prominent and representative citizens. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky, February 19th, 1824. As a boy he spent a portion of his time with his grandfather in Louisville, and the remainder on his father's plantation. He received an academic education, and at quite an early age was married to a daughter of Captain John Carr, of Oldham County, Kentucky, Miss Eliza Carr, noted for her great personal beauty, as well as for her intellect and accomplishments.

Immediately after his marriage Mr. Honoré established himself in Louisville, where he engaged in the wholesale hardware business. While engaged in this business, which he conducted successfully for several years, he also developed a fondness for real estate, and his investments were by no means confined to the city in which he lived, or to the surrounding country.

When Fort Dearborn, and the cabins of John Kinzie and other Indian traders were all there was of Chicago, or rather of the settlement which preceded Chicago, Mr. Honoré's grandfather, Captain Lockwood, had been stationed there, and as early as 1840, his father, Francis Honoré, had passed through the vil-

lage on his way to Galena, Illinois, stopping long enough to take some note of its advantages and prospects. From the forecasts as to the future of Chicago, made by his father, and from other sources, Mr. Honoré had gained an impression that it was destined to become an important center, and it was this which induced him to make his first visit to the place in 1853. This was designed merely as a prospecting trip, but after taking a careful survey of the situation, and finding the outlook for the future growth and prosperity of the city fully equal to his most sanguine expectations, he became at that time an investor in Chicago realty.

Returning to Louisville he did not hesitate to acknowledge himself a full-fledged convert to the idea that Chicago was destined to become the most populous of western cities. In this view he found comparatively few of his southern friends ready, at that time, to concur, but so forcibly did he present his views, that while many thought him wildly enthusiastic, they were, nevertheless, impressed by his arguments.

Not long after his first visit to the city, he sold out his commercial interests in Louisville, and made further investments in Chicago, becoming at once one of the most prominent of those who began scattering broadcast over the country, information as to its resources and prospects. Through his influence his Kentucky friends began coming to Chicago,

and within a few years thereafter many of them had become residents of the city, while others had become extensively interested as property owners.

At the end of two years from the date of his first visit, he removed to Chicago, giving his time and attention at the start, mainly to dealing in real estate, but at a later date to the substantial improvements of much of the property he had acquired.

His first investments were on the north side, where he had a home occupying an entire square, as was then not uncommon in that part of the city. His next extensive operations in realty were in the west division of the city. With other parties he acquired and laid out what became known as "The Ashland Addition," and "The Ashland Second Addition" to Chicago. At his suggestion, the name of one of the streets of this addition—which had been christened "Reuben Street"—was changed to "Ashland Avenue." This street, he predicted, would, before the lapse of many years, become the finest residence street of West Chicago, and he followed up the change of name with a plan of improvement which was calculated to contribute toward bringing about this result. With one or two associates he widened the street to 100 feet, and made other improvements, the ultimate result of which has been to give to the city the present Ashland Boulevard, one of the handsomest and most attractive



streets to be found in any of the cities of the United States. One of the earliest building improvements made on this street was the residence of Mr. Honoré, a spacious building, now the home of ex-Mayor Carter Harrison. He became also extensively interested in the subdivision and sale of other large tracts of land on the "West Side."

Some time later he turned his attention principally to the purchase and improvement of property in the south division of Chicago, where his most efficient and valuable services to the city have been rendered. He was an early discoverer of the trend of business in this portion of the city, and was singularly correct in his forecasts of what would be demanded in the way of accommodations for its rapidly increasing trade and commerce.

He became a leader in the improvements of Dearborn street, erecting two large blocks, known as the "Honoré Block" and "Honoré Building," extending from Monroe to Adams street, which were among the handsomest business blocks in the city before the great fire of 1871. One of these buildings was just being completed when it was swept out of existence along with everything else in that portion of the city. As soon as possible after the fire, Mr. Honoré rebuilt both of these buildings in a most attractive style of architecture, and with all the conveniences and improvements of that

period. They were then a long way in advance of neighboring structures, and in the opinion of the general public, in advance of any demands likely to be made upon them. But the fact that they are now the centre of the district within which real estate commands a higher price than in any other portion of the city, emphasizes the wisdom of the builder.

A heavy loser through the fire, Mr. Honoré was one of the first to undertake to replace what had been destroyed in the way of buildings, which had belonged to him. He applied himself to this task with the vigor, the courage and the enthusiasm of his earlier life, and among all those who were called upon at that time to aid in lifting Chicago out of its ashes, none bore a more conspicuous part than he did. Beset by extraordinary difficulties, he persevered in his efforts, and one after another many new buildings took the place of those destroyed, and the new ones were in the main vastly superior to the old. Financially, he was a sufferer by reason of the rapidity with which he pushed these improvements, but the city was unquestionably greatly benefited thereby.

Among the most conspicuous services, perhaps, which Mr. Honoré has rendered Chicago — much as he has done for the city — was that rendered in connection with the establishment of the splendid parks and boulevards, which have made the western metropolis — in one sense, at least — the

Paris of America. He was one of the originators of the great system of parks and boulevards of the south division of the city, which have already become famous the world over, while one of the parks is to become known to more people than any other in America, as the site of the World's Columbian Exposition.

Prior to the inception of this enterprise, Chicago had but a single park of any consequence, and this was located in the north division of the city. There were few attractions for either visitors or residents, other than those of a business character. The creation of the South parks led to a system of boulevards and drives, which are unequaled by those of any other city in the world, and to a very few men Chicago is indebted for this public improvement. Of this small number of men Mr. Honoré was one of the most prominent. These men conceived the idea of laying out the parks and boulevards, put the project into tangible form, brought it before the public, and pushed it to a successful issue. In carrying forward this work they encountered the most violent opposition, and provoked criticism so hostile that it required great moral courage and tenacity of purpose to pursue the course they had mapped out. They had not only to meet and overcome the opposition of that class of people who oppose an increase of taxation, whatever may be the benefits which are to accrue therefrom, but also of the large class

of people who could not look far enough into the future to perceive that Chicago would ever have need for these parks.

To have been successful in inaugurating the park improvements in the face of this bitter opposition, to have set on foot a movement which not only built up the south division of the city, but inspired simultaneously an effort which resulted in the establishment of the park system of West Chicago, through which that portion of the city has been enormously benefitted and improved, testifies strongly to the force of character, the persistency, and perhaps to the diplomacy as well, of the gentlemen whose labors have been productive of such magnificent results; and to have lived to see their work endorsed unanimously by their fellow citizens, and the breadth and scope of their wisdom appreciated by visitors from all parts of the world has been the good fortune of Mr. Honoré, and a few of his associates.

Of the value of his influence, his activity and his enterprise to the city of Chicago, there can be no better estimate than that contained in the following brief utterance of D. H. Burnham, Chief of the Bureau of Construction of the World's Fair: "Too much cannot be said of what he has contributed to the growth of Chicago. Wherever his hand has appeared, there has been big, broad development. It was so in the west division, and it has been so in the

south division of the city. He looked into the future, planned for the future, and acted for the future. Prosperity never spoiled him, and reverses never soured him. He is a grand man, to whom Chicago should build a monument."

Mr. Honoré's usefulness as a citizen of Chicago has not been confined to his public spirited enterprise in seeking to promote the growth and improvement of the city. His generosity always kept pace with his prosperity, and in the practical affairs of life he had a happy faculty of helping people to help themselves, and of bestowing charities in the most graceful and unostentatious way.

There has never been a more hospitable home in Chicago than that of Mr. Honoré. With true Southern hospitality he has coupled the courtesy which comes to him as an heritage from French ancestry, while beauty and culture have commingled in the family circle to make his home attractive. In a family of six children there are four sons and two daughters. Both the daughters are remarkably beautiful women. The elder, Mrs. Bertha Honoré Palmer,

wife of Potter Palmer of Chicago, always a social leader, has within the past two years gained national and international celebrity as a woman of magnificent executive ability, rare tact and brilliant attainments. Appointed a member of the National Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition, she was chosen President of the Board upon its organization by unanimous vote, and in this capacity has rendered signal service in the promotion of the exposition enterprise.

The second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Honoré, noted in her young womanhood as one of the social leaders of Chicago, and later of Washington and New York, is the wife of Col. Frederick D. Grant, son of General U. S. Grant, and now minister-resident representing the United States at the Court of Vienna.

The four sons are still comparatively young men. They are all pursuing prosperous business careers, and are among the representative young men in Chicago's business and social world.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

## WESTERN PIONEERS.

WILLIAM PICKERING HUMBLE.

ON January 17, 1892, there passed away at his home in Chicago, after a brief illness, and while yet in the prime and vigor of a stalwart manhood, a man who for more than thirty years had been a prominent and influential factor in the wholesale commercial interests of that city.

William Pickering Humble was descended from an ancient and honorable lineage and bore some of the best blood of England in his veins. The surname of Humble is of great antiquity, and may be traced back through William, Prince of Orange, to the Norman invasion and even beyond. The family, at the present time quite numerous, still reside in England on estates having been owned and occupied by them for generations. One of his ancestors particularly distinguished himself for bravery at the battle of Quebec, and was tendered the honor of Knighthood, but declined in expectation of a Baronetcy—of 1660—which was to be revived in his favor.

Joseph Oliver Humble, father of William P., was the second son of Thomas Humble of Humbles Hill in the county of Northumberland. The

father of Thomas Humble was an iron merchant and the owner of large collieries in Northumberland. He presented the "City Gates" to the town in which he lived, situated at the foot of Humbles Hill, this hill having been named for him. One of the daughters of Thomas Humble married a son of Robert Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive.

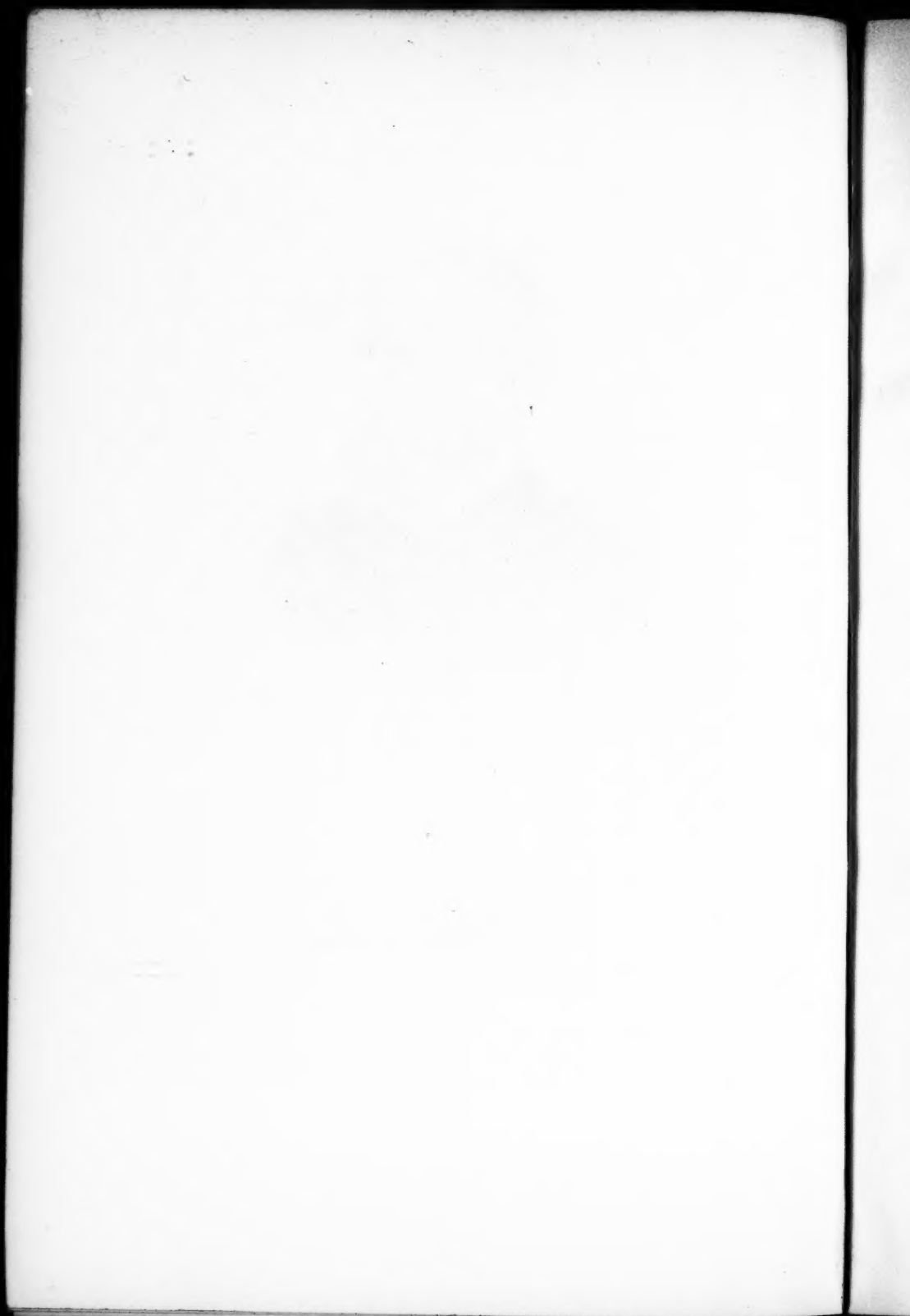
Joseph Oliver Humble, like his immediate ancestors, was a colliery owner in England, and he was also a practical engineer and mechanic. In 1840 he determined to emigrate to America. Disposing of his possessions in England, he came to Milwaukee, Wis., with his wife, Jane (Merchant) Humble, and his young son, William Pickering. He invested his capital in extensive timber lands and saw mills at Manistee, Mich., and also engaged in the building of vessels for the lumber trade on the lakes, building, among other vessels, the Mary Bonesteel and Honest John. In 1852 Mr. Humble came from Milwaukee to Chicago and engaged in the produce and commission business which he conducted for some years when he removed to Keokuk, Iowa,



*The National Messenger*

*Wm. P. Humble.*





where he established a large foundry and began the manufacture of car-wheels, which he continued for many years until advancing age induced him to retire from active business. He died May, 1892.

William Pickering Humble was born at New Castle upon Tyne, England, December 24, 1832, and was consequently eight years of age when he came with his parents to Milwaukee. Here his boyhood was spent and his early education obtained under the tutorship of Prof. Skinner, a noted educator. He was apt, studious, energetic, and ambitious, and was regarded by his preceptor as one of his brightest pupils, and the tender regard then established between teacher and pupil ripened into a friendship in after life, that continued unbroken till the death of Prof. Skinner, a few years past. And it may be worth while here to note the fact that the friends of Mr. Humble's youth continued to be his steadfast friends through life, thus testifying to the magnetism of his personality and the sterling worth of his character.

When in 1852 his father embarked in the produce and commission line in Chicago he gave the son charge of the business. This was his first business experience, and he remained in this position three years, until he had accumulated a sufficient sum to enable him to make a venture for himself. He then went to St. Louis and entered the Bryant and Stratton

Business College. After graduating from this institution he obtained employment in the wholesale clothing house of Martin Bros., corner Main and Market streets, St. Louis, where his excellent business qualities were at once recognized, and his advancement was rapid. This store was known as No. 1 of the Martin stores, and the proprietors determined to try the experiment of concentrating all their trade in another store on Main street and so closed out their store No. 1 with that end in view. Mr. Humble was offered a position at an advance in salary, by a firm just across the street, in whose employ he had spent some little time prior to engaging with Martin Bros. He accepted this position, but six weeks later, Martin Bros. not being satisfied with the result of their experiment determined to re-open "No. 1" again. They sent for Mr. Humble, and at another advance in salary, gave him entire charge of the business which he conducted with credit to himself and profit to his employers until the outbreak of our Civil War, which caused such depression in the wholesale trade of St. Louis, that in August, 1861, Mr. Humble came to Chicago with this stock of goods, and established a wholesale clothing business, on Lake street near the old Tremont House. In 1863 he closed out this business to accept a partnership in the wholesale cloth house of Charles Beardsley Bros. and Company, one of the largest and wealth-

iest firms then existing in this country, having stores in New York City, St. Louis, Mo., and Chicago, Ill. During his connection with this house Mr. Humble distinguished himself as one of the most active and enterprising members of the firm. Their business continued till 1871. Since that time, Mr. Humble, after some other unimportant business ventures, connected himself with McCullough, Parker, and Co. of Boston, and was their western representative at the time of his death.

Probably no man was better known or more respected by the fraternity of merchants throughout the country than Mr. Humble. Of fine physique, genial manners, gentle bearing, and attractive presence, he added to these qualities a keen sense of honor, a strict morality, and unquestioned integrity. He was devoted to his business, but more devoted to his family, thoroughly domestic in his tastes and habits; he was the idol of his family circle, and their beau-ideal of noble manhood.

He married in 1856 Margaret, youngest daughter of Felty Pearce and Margaret (Lyon) Farmer of Claybourne Co., Miss. Mrs. Humble has an ancestry of which she, too, may be justly proud. The Farmers are of Saxon origin and were seated in Northamptonshire, England, in the reign of Edward IV.

In 1540 Ann, daughter of Richard Farmer Esq., of Eastonstone, married Wm. Lucy. Their son, Sir Thomas

Lucy, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1565, and was associated with some of the earlier events in the life of Shakespeare. Jasper Farmer, one of this family, is the ancestor of Felty Farmer of Pennsylvania, the grandfather of Mrs. Humble. On the maternal side she numbers among her ancestors the Mahones of Virginia, and the Lyon family, distinguished alike in peace and war.

In 1852 Mrs. Humble's father fitted out a train to cross the plains to California. At the last moment he abandoned the idea of taking his family with him on account of illness of some of the members, and left them in St. Louis while he went on with the train. The last news his family had from him was a letter written from Taos, New Mexico, in which he expressed his gratification that his family had remained in St. Louis, as they had thereby escaped the many hardships he had endured. He further expressed his intention, as soon as he had arrived at his destination and prepared a home for them of returning for them "as fast as a steamship could bring him." This was the last ever heard of him or his party. They were undoubtedly murdered by savages.

Mrs. Humble and three daughters are the surviving members of Mr. Humble's family. His only son, a bright and promising young man of splendid business ability, died three years ago. In politics Mr. Humble was a Democrat, in religion an Epis-





The National Magazine

A stylized, cursive signature or logo, possibly reading "D. L. L.", enclosed within a circular, swirling frame.



copalian. He was broad and charitable in all his views, and in all his dealings. He had always a firm and abiding faith in Chicago's future, and

it is to men like him, that the Chicago of to-day owes its being.

J. P. BISHOP.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF PORT ANGELES.

PHILIP A. DOLAN.

THE development of the new city of Port Angeles, a history of which is given in this number, has been largely the result of the personal efforts of one man — Philip A. Dolan. He is still a young man, being born in Poughkeepsie, New York, November 9, 1863. His education was acquired in the common schools and High School of his native city. He stood high in mathematics, and was proficient in his Latin studies, but evinced a special aptitude along geographical and historical lines.

He determined early to follow a commercial career as affording the best opportunities for an ambitious young man, in view of the crowded condition of the various liberal professions. With this end in view, at the age of sixteen, he entered the employ of a Poughkeepsie dry-goods merchant. He rapidly mastered every detail of the business, won the confidence and good-will of his employer, and was frequently promoted to positions of responsibility and trust. He believed, however, that the best chance for a young man would be found in a newer country,

and accordingly in 1882 he obtained a position as bookkeeper and commissary clerk for the K. C. S. & N. Railway, then in process of construction. His salary was ninety dollars per month, and his headquarters Jonesboro, Arkansas. In this position he made on his own account such investments as his moderate salary permitted. He purchased "time checks" at a discount, and with his accumulated earnings at length purchased the property where the Jonesboro depot was located. He was entrusted with the complete supervision of the stores of the railway company, and assumed the responsibility of purchasing agent, in this latter capacity acquiring a valuable acquaintance with the principal merchants and dealers of the west.

At the expiration of a year spent in this service, he had acquired by means of his savings and judicious investments a capital of \$3,000, and with this sum he established a general merchandise business at Arksdale, Mississippi. This place at the time, was a village of but one hundred souls, but it was the center of a

rich cotton valley, and the young man soon inaugurated a large supply business with the neighboring planters, taking their cotton in exchange for provisions. In a year's time he had the largest mercantile establishment in all that locality.

The South was just then entering upon the greatest "boom" in its history. Mines of iron and coal were being opened up. Cities doubled and trebled and quadrupled their populations in incredible spaces of time. Fortunes were made in a day, speculation running riot. Every one with capital was seeking some good Southern investment. Young Dolan judiciously availed himself of this opportunity. He invested early in many growing places, and sold out his interests when the "boom" was at its height. This policy, of course, secured him an independent fortune. He still retains interests in the South, and has great faith in the future possibilities of that great region. He believed, however, that still better opportunities were open in the great Northwest, and after an investigation of this new region, he hit upon the beautiful Port Angeles, which, in his own language, he "believed was to become the greatest of all the Pacific ports."

He came to this place when it was an unknown village of 400 people, and he has been chiefly instrumental in transforming it into the present bustling ocean port of 5,000 inhabitants. He purchased large tracts of

land in the heart of the little town, and by means of his own graphic pen began to inform the outside world of the natural advantages of the place, while at the same time he inaugurated a generous policy of internal improvements, expending thousands of dollars in building steamship docks and wharfs, and making large donations to establish schools, academies, churches, and various public institutions required by a thriving city. There was no public interest toward the upbuilding of which he did not contribute conspicuously. He was one of the few who raised \$30,000 as a bonus to encourage local enterprise and assist new manufactories to establish themselves in the city. Friends sent him money to invest for them, and he placed it as judiciously as though the investments were his own.

In a statement of the situation at Port Angeles, he says: "Looking at the map you find us in the extreme northwestern point of the United States, and to get here requires energy, determination and capital. Knowing that twenty years ago this country was comparatively unknown, and wholly undeveloped, you do not expect to find here a metropolis like New York, but you do find here intelligence and progress, and every evidence of a brilliant future. The very fact of a man's settlement here is an evidence of his perseverance and enterprise. Let one hundred families leave New York or Boston





*Biographical Magazine*

*W. M. Butters.*

with the intention of settling in the west. The first to settle will be the poorer class, who drop off in Wisconsin or Minnesota, or some point further south. Others becoming stranded, or disgusted by the 'Bad Lands' of Dakota will stop in the Western plain States, dropping off

one by one until they reach the Rocky Mountains. But others more persevering and enterprising, or possessed of greater wealth, push to the westward limit, and thus reap the greatest reward of fine opportunities which our great continent affords."

WM. R. MCGARRY.

### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST.

WILLIAM M. BUTTERS.

WILLIAM M. BUTTERS is one of the representative pioneers who have contributed to the upbuilding of the business interests of Denver, Colorado. A native of the "Pine Tree State," he came to Denver in 1875, before the territory of Colorado had assumed the dignity of Statehood.

From the first he has been identified with the grocery business, in 1881 building a store at the corner of Broadway and second Avenue—the first establishment of its kind in Denver, south of Cherry Creek.

At that time the southern section of the city was but sparsely built up. Mr. Butters predicted a bright future for the South Side, and governed his business affairs in accordance with his faith, although at that time few believed with him, and an investment in property on the South Side was considered an error of judgement and an evidence of incapacity. When Mr. Butters crossed Cherry Creek to erect a building for his business, he

was commonly characterized, with a sad shake of the head, as "another man gone wrong." But in a few years these predictions rebounded upon the heads of the false prophets, now tantalized by recollections of the opportunities they had despised when property on the South Side could be had for a trifle.

But a large share of the credit for the transformation of the newer Denver must be given to Mr. Butters, for he energetically and determinedly set himself to the task of realizing his own faith, and the influx of population to the South Side was largely due to his exertions and the moral influence of his example. With the growth of the community about him Mr. Butters' business thrived wonderfully. In 1868 he established a branch business—the canning of tomatoes and beans—which he conducted at the first in a back-room of his Broadway store. The experiment proved immediately successful, and



he saw the opportunity for an unlimited business. With his customary promptness and decision he sold out his grocery interests and organized the stock company known as the "Butters Manufacturing Company." The present large works at the corner of Bayard and South Eleventh Streets were erected in 1888, and the canning business regularly begun.

The same energy and ability which had conducted lesser enterprises was now directing this new business, and the same success was immediately achieved, but on a much larger scale. A branch concern was presently established at Topeka, Kansas, in the heart of one of the finest fruit growing sections in America. At this point the principal part of the jellies, preserves, fruit-butters, etc, are prepared, and shipped to the Denver Headquarters for distribution. Another branch establishment, including the salting works, was located at Brighton, Colorado, and made the

center of the business of pickling and canning vegetables. The preparation of all manner of garden vegetables has been made a prominent part of the business, the needs of modern civilization, conspiring with advancement in methods of preservation, and facilities of transportation, having produced a condition of things whereby, throughout the world, may be enjoyed at all times and seasons the good things of Mother Earth which before had been available to man, only during the brief season of their nurture on her bosom.

The clientage of the Butters Company extends throughout Colorado and the adjoining States and Territories, and is gradually extending to the markets far beyond. Mr. William M. Butters is President and General Manager of the Company, the other officers being J. P. Van Wormer, Vice-President, John L. Daily, Treasurer, and W. F. Ripley Secretary.

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HON. JOHN L. RUSSELL.

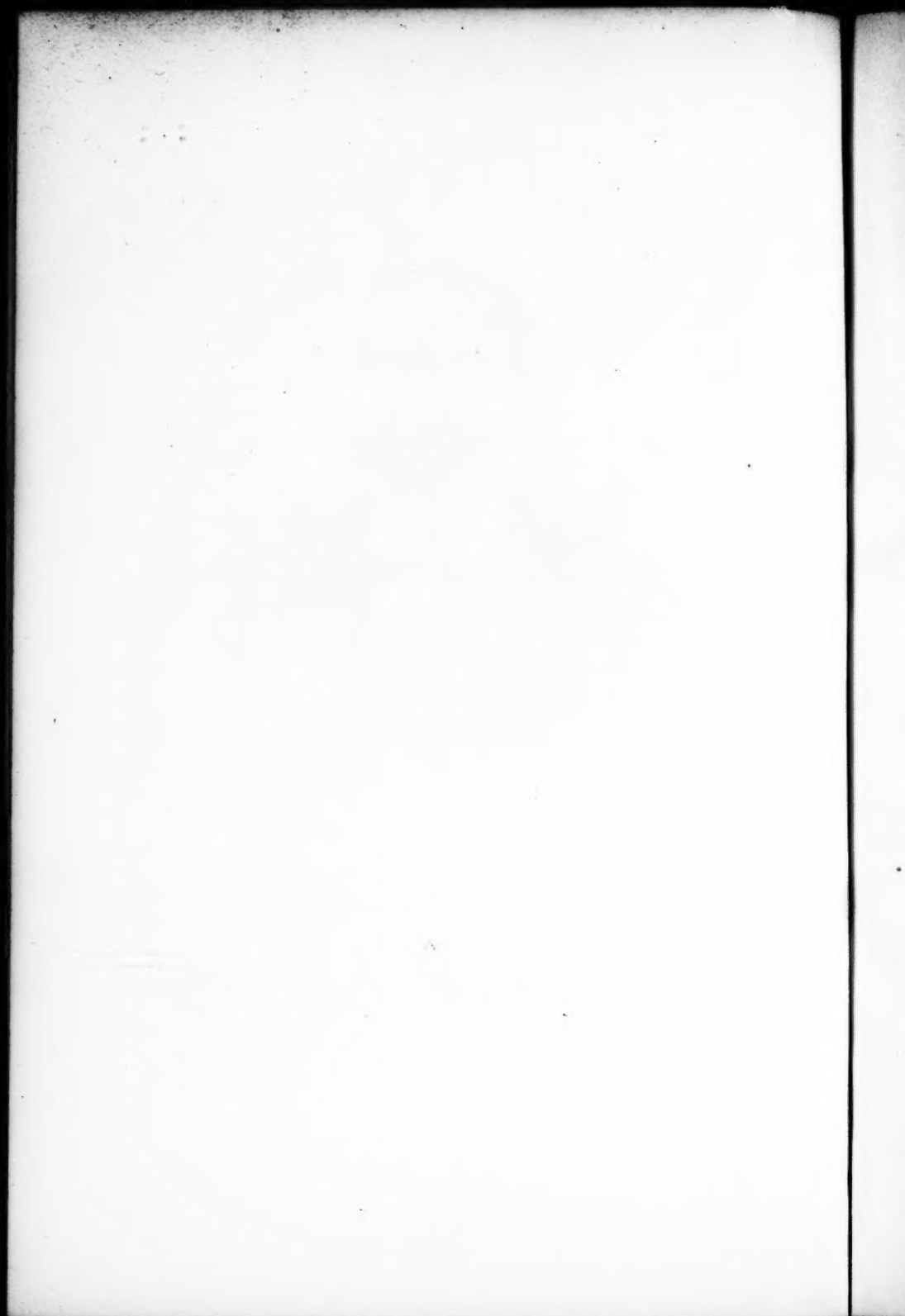
THE life of this man presents another striking instance of the enterprising Eastern boy, who, accepting in good faith Horace Greeley's oft-quoted injunction, "Young man, go west," became early identified with, and soon a recognized leader and important factor in the development of our great rich territory beyond the

Mississippi. John L. Russell was born in Baltimore, Maryland, being descended from an old family of that State. He enjoyed the educational advantages which come to the ordinary well-bred city boy up to the age of sixteen; but he cherished aspirations and was possessed of energies of which the ordinary boy knows noth-



*The Natural Magazine*

*A. Russell*



ing. He had confidence in his ability, unaided, to carve out for himself a career successful and honorable, and he early determined to venture the experiment.

Accordingly, in 1874, when only sixteen years of age, we find him pushing out from home toward the growing west. He settled first in Missouri, lived there three years, came to the conclusion that there was a still better field in which to work out his plans and so pushed on to the new town of Denver. This was in 1877. Colorado had been a State of the Union but a few months, and afforded to its settlers the usual trials and unusual opportunities of pioneer life. Young Russell engaged, in a small way, in horticulture and floriculture. At first thought a new country may not seem to offer a promising prospect for such a business, but this young man had the sagacity to choose a pursuit which would give him the inestimable advantage that always comes to the first in a new field.

As a matter of fact his business grew and expanded so rapidly that in a short time his patronage not merely extended to every part of Colorado, but spread into Montana, Wyoming, the Dakotas, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico and even the older states of Kansas and Nebraska. With others, Mr. Russell organized the Colorado Nursery Company, with head-quarters at Myrtle Hill, and he became its Vice-President. He identified himself with the interests

of South Denver, and since 1882 he has been one of the most active of the citizens engaged in developing that community. In the establishment of educational institutions and kindred interests he has been especially helpful.

He was one of the few energetic men who conceived and successfully executed the scheme of organizing a town corporation.

A Republican in politics, ever since he became a resident of Arrapahoe County, Mr. Russell has taken a live interest in, and has generously devoted his energies to the advancement of that party. For this reason, and because he enjoys the confidence of the people in the section of the country where he lives, and stands a representative man among them, he was nominated by his party in 1886, and elected to the General Assembly of Colorado. He served his term with credit to himself and his constituents, and in the Spring election of 1887, he was chosen in the local service of South Denver, being elected one of her Board of Trustees. He has ever since been consistently re-elected to this position, upon the expiration of his term in office.

Beginning business with no other capital than a thorough mastery of his chosen occupation, and the determination to succeed, Mr. Russell in a few years has built up one of the most extensive enterprises in Colorado. He stands in the very foremost rank of the florists of the United

States. The significance of this achievement needs no further comment than the mere remembrance that Mr. Russell has not yet reached the age of thirty-five—a point at

which most men are only well launched upon their work, with the goal of success and eminence yet far beyond them.

B. F. NIESZ.

B. F. NIESZ, who has been intimately identified with the development of Denver, was born in Canton, Ohio, in 1842. He is of German-Quaker parentage and was reared on a farm, working throughout the summer months and during winter attending the ordinary country "district school." This course was followed until he reached the age of eighteen, when for several terms he attended Greensburgh Seminary. Later on he completed a full course at Mount Union College, graduating in 1870 and taking first honors in a class of twenty-eight.

Immediately after his graduation he was associated with two prominent Ohio educators in founding a new educational institution at Ada, Ohio—the Ohio Normal University. The school has since become one of the leading institutions of learning in Ohio, being attended by no less than a thousand students every term. While he was engaged in the Normal work, Mr. N. was married to a very estimable young lady—Miss Rosalie Schneider, of Kenton, Ohio, who, with her practical good sense has been a

constant inspiration to him in all of his business undertakings.

Repeated efforts were made to induce Mr. Niesz to take charge of the graded schools at Kentland, Indiana, and he at length consented. For four years he was in charge of them and succeeded in bringing the Kentland schools to a high standard of excellence. During two years of his service in this capacity he also served as Superintendent of Schools of the county of Newton, Indiana, having the supervision of eighty-two schools. The failing health of members of his family forced him at length to resign these positions and seek another climate. In 1877, therefore, he located in Denver, where he has ever since remained.

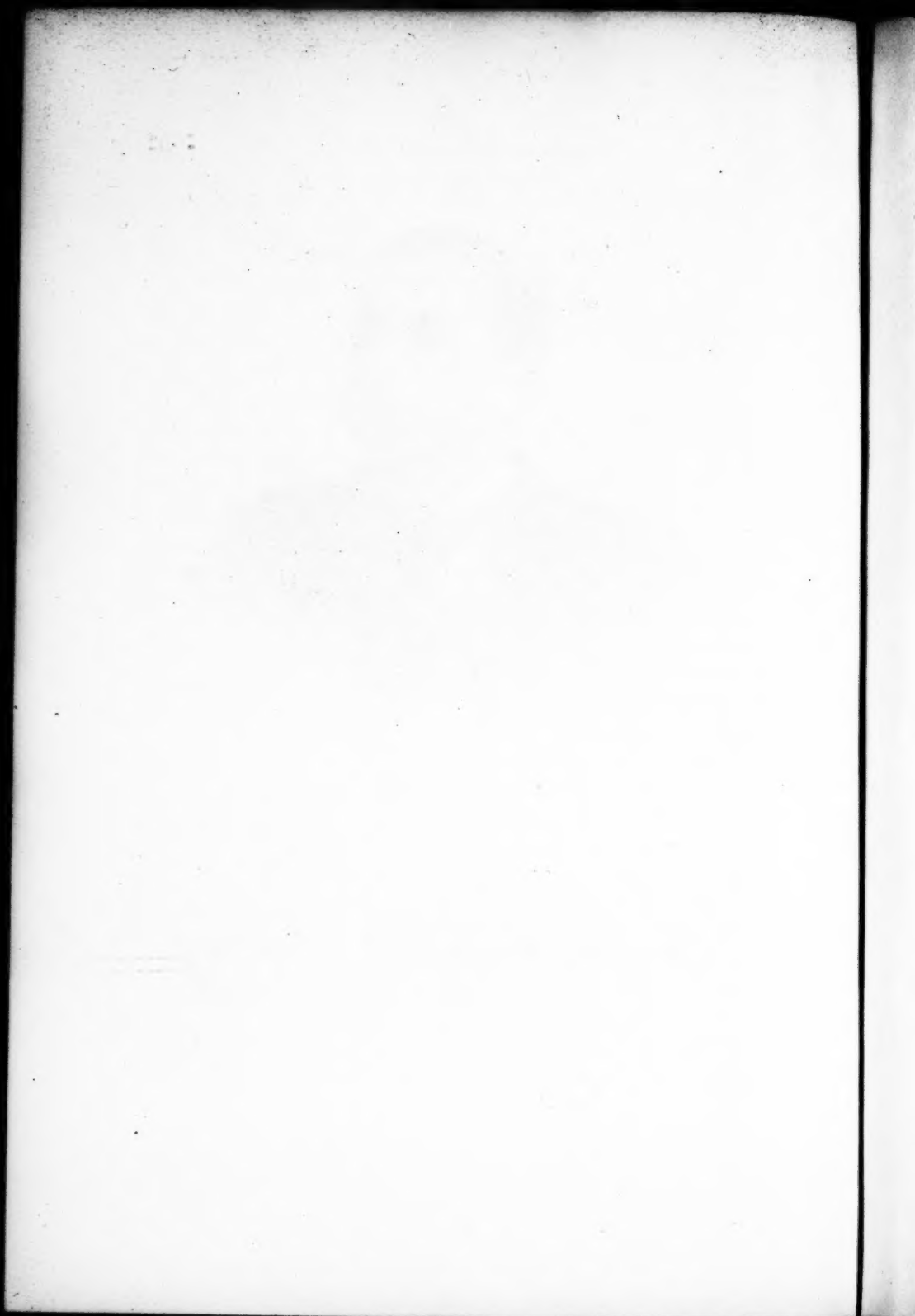
Mr. Niesz began business with a wholesale and retail shoe establishment in the Evans Block, near Lawrence street, Denver. This was in September, 1877, and he continued in the business at this spot for eight years. He subsequently occupied quarters at the corner of Champa and Sixteenth streets, and located still later on Lawrence street near Six-





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*Benjamin A. Niesz*



teenth. Selling out his establishment in 1887, Mr. Niesz has since been engaged in the real estate business in which he has been eminently successful. During the past five years he has operated very extensively, confining himself principally to properties along South Broadway, where he has laid out and platted many acres. Among the properties are Edgerton Place, Lawndale, West Broadway, Overland Park "Sub," the First Addition to Overland Park and Grant "Sub." A part of this last tract Mr. Niesz has retained for his own residence—a modest and unpretentious home, but bearing evidence of substantial comfort and convenience.

Mr. Niesz has been largely instrumental in securing the establishment in Denver of the large Cotton Mills, Woollen Mills, and the Woerber Brothers Car Works which furnish employment to upwards of four hundred

men. He has also been interested in establishing a small community of comfortable workingmen's homes in close proximity to the employers' works, thus making it convenient and possible for whole families to obtain employment.

He has been for some time a director of the Denver Real Estate and Stock Exchange, having been re-elected to the position at the expiration of his first term. For the past two years he has been identified with the municipal affairs of South Denver, as a member of the Town Council. A short time ago he was re-elected as Trustee against great odds, and a strong combination of opposing circumstances. Mr. Niesz is a man of great public spirit and is in the foremost ranks of those engaged in promoting public improvement in Denver.

A. N. TOWNE.





### RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

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CHARLES SUMNER, By Anna Laurens Dawes, New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1892, [Makers of America Series.]

This is a well written and interesting book. The subject is an eminently noteworthy one. Sumner had his bitter enemies; and his was the kind of temperament to make them. In passionate debate his excoriations of men could be frightfully intense and offensive; they were so severe that justice was too often wounded to death even in the case of the worst opponents, and thus the punishment intended was cheated of its end.

But Charles Sumner had—and still has—very ardent admirers. And who that desires to see the "Scholar in politics," will not be of the number, at least on this score? His biographer says of him at the outset, wisely and well: "Unlike Lincoln, Seward, Grant—whose deeds live after them, and whose great service can be expressed in idiomatic phrase—this man's work is hard to define, harder still to measure. But it is only a cheap and easy way out of the difficulty. A sort of blind thoroughfare in historical criticism, to say that we cannot yet determine his place in history; for in truth his service to our development is not hard to discover, whatever may be thought of its relative value."

Any contemplation of Sumner's career, no

matter how cursory, will at once bring to mind two striking and painful events. The murderous, and really cowardly assault on him in the Senate Chamber; and his bitter opposition to General or President Grant, beginning with the San Domingo affair. It is a good test of a biographer's impartiality, or possession and exercise of the historical spirit—to observe how these incidents are treated. On the one hand the tendency would naturally be to render more dark and dastardly the unpardonably disgraceful rowdyism of the caning by Preston Brooks. On the other hand, loyalty to the subject of the book might tempt a derogatory view of Grant. This test the author of this book stands well. There is no abatement of the horror wherewith we must ever regard the act of the southern assassin, and his cowardice is clearly brought out. But then we are fairly made to look upon the provocation given by the polished but none the less envenomed shafts of Sumner's eloquence. His speech on "The Crime against Kansas": its very title as the writer truly remarks, "a dagger thrust," was exasperating enough, yet it was entitled to the "freedom of speech." But it is with much regret we learn that in the subsequent debates Sumner descended to such terms, in speaking of a fellow Senator, as these: "a noisome squat,

and nameless animal," who "in violation of all decency, switches out from his tongue the perpetual stench of offensive personality." After which to make sure the shot should go home, Sumner added: "The Senator has switched his tongue, and again he fills the Senate with his offensive odor." Billingsgate is sweet and gentle compared to such an outburst.

In the unhappy controversy with Grant, the author succeeds in placing both men before us in such a way, that while Sumner is seen to err, yet Grant's character is not lowered. By a careful detail of attending and preceding circumstances, their mutual

misunderstandings of each other, are readily perceived, and amply explain how each conscientiously and therefore honorably was led to the extreme of antagonism. "Out of these and other different interpretations of a single interview, arose much of the difficulty" says the author. "It seemed as if some malign atmosphere enveloped the occasion, making all its details work together for destruction. Even its trivialities became crimes."

Sumner is a character eminently worthy of the study of the historical student. We heartily commend a book affording so just a weighing of that character.

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## NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

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The Maine Historical Society had its annual field day excursion on Sept. 9th and 10th. Friday afternoon was spent at old Fort Halifax in Winslow. In the evening a public meeting was held at Waterville, at which President Baxter read a valuable paper on Father Sebastian Raslè, the Jesuit missionary, who was killed at Norridgewock, in the attack on the Indian village by Harmon and Moulton in 1724. Rev. E. C. Cummings read a letter written at the same time by another Jesuit missionary, giving an account of Father Raslè's death. On Saturday, the 10th, the society, with invited guests, about one hundred in all, proceeded to the scene of this Indian village near the Madison and Norridgewock line. The granite Monument erected by Bishop Fenwick in 1833 is still standing, although injured by time and especially by relic hunters. Another interesting meeting was held on the banks of the Kennebec near the Indian spring, and a paper was read by Rev. C. F. Allen of Kennebunk, a native of Norridge-

wock. He described the location of the earlier Maine Jesuits, the early life of Raslè, his labors among the savages, his loyalty to France, the attempts against him, and finally his martyrdom. Father Raslè's strong box and other relics were exhibited.

The Minnesota State Historical Society held its first regular monthly meeting since last spring, Sept. 12, with ex-Governor Ramsey in the chair. Messrs. Mayo and Williams gave an interesting account of some valuable manuscripts given to the society by Col. John H. Stevens of Minneapolis. Judge Flandrau, chairman of the committee on the Columbian celebration reported that the committee had made arrangements for the celebration by this society of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the new world. Hon. Henry W. Childs, assistant attorney general of Minnesota had been invited to be the orator on the occasion.

The New Hampshire Historical Society



held sway at The Weirs, Monday, Aug. 8th, and the ceremony of turning over the Endicott Rock Memorial to the State of New Hampshire attracted a large crowd. The memorial exercises were conducted in Music Hall, a few rods in the rear of which stands the handsome granite building erected by New Hampshire to protect and preserve the rock, which was marked just 240 years ago August 1, as the supposed northern boundary of Massachusetts. J. B. Walker presided. E. P. Jewell of Laconia, made a fine historical address, after which John Kimball, chairman of the commission, formally delivered the structure to the State. Governor Tuttle, who was present with his council, made a speech of acceptance.

The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, has recently become the possessor of a fine building in which to store its valuable library and museum. It has a fine collection of original documents of great historical value, besides many interesting relics. Among other implements it rejoices in the possession of King Philip's war club, dating from 1665, and brought to the Reserve by an old Massachusetts family. The society at present has a membership of upwards of 300, and includes many of the most scholarly and able men in Ohio and the west.

The Fire Lands Historical Society was held at Norwalk, Ohio, on September 14th. It was particularly an old pioneers' meeting, for short speeches and reminiscences and experience. The special subject for consideration was the granting by the State of Connecticut of the Fire Lands to the sufferers by war and fire in the Connecticut valley during the revolutionary war. There was a short address on this subject by Hon. L. C. Laylin, of Norwalk, followed by brief talks by pioneers and others on the early history of the settlers of the Fire Lands.

The Ohio Historical Society (Columbus), under the active leadership of Secretary Graham, is arranging to have not less than a thousand views of historical points and interesting scenery along the Ohio River, taken for exhibition at the World's Fair. It is a good idea, worthy of every encouragement, and Mr. Graham has asked the co-operation of the World's Fair Executive Commissioners of the States, bordering on the Ohio, in executing the work. There is not time to prepare a complete panorama of the river, and the next best plan of exhibit would seem to be a series of well selected views, such as Mr. Graham proposes. It would be at once geographical, historical and artistic, and for such a work no river in the world presents better material than the "Beautiful River." The glorious events connected with the triumph of Croghan, Perry and Harrison will be freshened, in the minds of the present generation, by such an exhibit.

The Annual Meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society, (Pa.) was held at Pipersville, July 19th. Rev. D. K. Turner read a highly interesting paper on "The claim of Connecticut to Wyoming." In doing this, he traced the conflict of opinion between Connecticut and Pennsylvania for the possession of the richest portion of the celebrated Wyoming Valley, and called up the petty wars and bloodshed that grew out of it, in which Pennsylvania finally triumphed and had the title to her people assured. Few similar disputes in this country have attracted wider attention, or, at times, produced a more angry feeling. Henry C. Mercer read an elaborate paper on Tamenend's grave. It showed a thorough investigation of the subject—and, what he said, we think fully sustained the claim that this celebrated Indian chieftain died and was buried on the bank of the Neshaminy, near Spruce hill, in Doylestown township.

